00036136

00036136

Digitized with financial assistance from

H T Parekh
FOUNDATION

An Initiative by
HDFC
WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 28 December, 2018

THE PRINCES OF ACHAIA

*

THE PRINCES OF ACHAIA

AND

THE CHRONICLES OF MOREA

A STUDY OF GREECE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

36136 ✓
LC

BY

SIR RENNELL RODD

C.G.V.O., K.C.M.G., C.B.

AUTHOR OF "CUSTOMS AND LORE OF MODERN GREECE
"BALLADS OF THE FLEET," ETC. ETC.

WITH A MAP

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I

TT. V. 10

ROYAL ASIATIC LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH

LONDON

EDWARD ARNOLD

Publisher to the India Office

1907

[All rights reserved]

GOD
949.5
Rod/Pri
36136

DEDICATED.

TO

L. G. R.

μάλιστα δὲ τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοί

GOD
949.5
Rod/Pri
36136

PREFACE

"I shall not pursue the obscure and various dynasties that rose and fell on the continent or in the isles."

—GIBBON, *Decline and Fall*, ch. lxii.

MANY years ago, while residing for upwards of two years at our legation in Greece, having had occasion to visit nearly the whole of that delightful land in which the majority of travellers devote their time to archæological studies, I was impressed by the evidence of a phase of secondary interest, afforded by the large number of well-preserved medieval strongholds, which dominate sites once famous and now forlorn, and crown at every point of vantage the spurs of historic mountains. Always since school and college days somewhat of a *frondeur* from the prescribed curriculum, I was there deeply concerned to know what manner of men devised these frowning keeps, lived, loved, and died through some forgotten age in castles nested among folds of the Messenian hills, on the great Laconian ridge or in the wild Arcadian highlands, more appropriately associated with the pastoral gods than with the symbols of feudal government. Who were these Franks, whose watch-towers linked valley to valley, and whose name recurs so unexpectedly, attached to the spring from which the wayfarer drinks, or the little stone bridge arching the stream which he crosses?

That Greece, the Morea not less than northern and

central Greece, had at a certain epoch fallen under the rule of western invaders classified in the large generalisation of the east as Franks, and that Venice had extended her outposts round these coasts and set the lion of St. Mark as her seal over the gates of many Levantine havens, I did indeed know, but little more than this, and nothing at all as to the origin or kindred of these Frankish intruders on classic soil. The brief sentence quoted above, in which Gibbon disposes of the fate of Hellas for a period of more than two hundred years, only tantalised my unrewarded curiosity. Finlay, indeed, was more satisfying, and in the light of his brief exposition of the brilliant story of the Dukes of Athens and the Princes of Achaia, I was enabled to some extent to repeople my mountain castles with their proper tenants and to realise a new world of dramatic personages on a stage over which the curtain seemed hitherto to have descended with the Roman conquest of Greece. But there was more to know. The petty barons whose feuds and ambitions Finlay deliberately passes by had become objects of particular interest, not the less because their cavalcades had clattered down the very path by which Pheidippides had run, or made their highway between the east and west across the sacred precincts of the forgotten Olympia. The men who had established little dynasties in all the isles through which I sailed had the fascination of the intangible, which they shared with that warden of the northern marches whose sentries at Bodonitza overlooked the pass of Thermopylæ.

The chronicle of the Morea, of which the French text—Buchon's *Livre de la conquête de la Morée*—first came into my hands, was a memorable discovery and a delightful companion of my travels. As the

secrets of medieval Greece began to reveal themselves, I collected, not without considerable difficulty, nearly all the available sources of information on the subject, and, as nothing adequate appeared to have been written in English on this epoch, I conceived the large ambition of weaving the story of the lesser dynasts of Athens, Achaia, Epirus, and Thessaly, as well as of the many lords who under the ægis of Venice ruled in the islands and held the sea gates of the east. But the occupations of an active profession left year by year less time to devote to research, and in the wandering life of a diplomatist my lot was cast often for long periods in places where the resources of great public libraries were far out of reach. The work begun had moreover often to be laid aside, sometimes for a year or two together, when public duties absorbed all my time. My ambition began inevitably to contract, and I realised that only a small portion of the task which I had undertaken could be completed as the *parergon* of an active life, even if nearly all my leisure were devoted to it. Not long after I began to study the authorities with a view to writing, appeared the *Stadt Athen im Mittelalter* of Gregorovius, anticipating a portion of my subject. I accordingly determined to confine myself to the history of Achaia as a central theme, only dealing with the other border states in so far as, being vassals to that principality, their fortunes were indissolubly connected with those of the sovereign state. The only existing history of Achaia of which I have knowledge —*L'Achaie Féodale, Étude sur le Moyen Age en Grèce par la Baronne Diane de Guldencrone, née de Gobineau*—which covers practically the same epoch, although published in 1886, only came into my hands after most of the following chapters had been com-

pleted. I cannot however admit that the existence of this book, which being in French is accessible to most English readers, renders a further study superfluous, inasmuch as the talented authoress, who has compiled a most picturesque account of the story of the Villehardouins, has followed too closely the narrative of the chronicle for historical accuracy, and does not appear to have availed herself of Sanudo's invaluable *History of Romania*, discovered by Hopf at Venice, nor of the results of that indefatigable worker's researches in the Angevine Register at Naples, which have thrown so much new light on the subject. And here I desire to acknowledge in full my indebtedness to that great explorer in these tangled paths of forgotten history. The pioneer work which he has done thoroughly and exhaustively, does not need to be done again, and for all students of Greece in the middle ages his history, or rather his compilation of historical material—for the only text he lived to complete is not eminently readable—must remain the standard authority. A personal consultation of many of the unpublished documents to which he briefly refers is nevertheless indispensable to the student, and herein has lain one of the great difficulties which have confronted me in working up my materials. Unable to go everywhere myself, I have been obliged to have copies made locally, and have realised that the correct transcription of medieval manuscripts, difficult for the expert, is almost impossible for the simple copyist. Many of the Angevine documents, as transcribed in the register, moreover reveal obvious clerical errors. It has only been by long correspondence and repeated collation of documents that it has been possible to obtain assurance on certain points which seemed obscure.

Whenever any doubt existed, I have endeavoured to obtain documentary confirmation of the evidence collected by Hopf. But in general I have followed him as a well-nigh infallible guide. To the points in which I have dissented from his conclusions attention will be drawn in the text.

Another student to whom I desire to express my respectful acknowledgments is Professor John Schmitt of Cincinnati, of whose invaluable monograph on the Chronicle of Morea an account is given in the introduction. His masterly edition of the Greek texts, unfortunately for myself, only appeared after my labours were practically over, but happily in time for me to be able to alter references so as to correspond to his arrangement, and not to the various less accessible editions of Buchon. As regards Neapolitan history, I have derived considerable assistance from the studies of my friend Mr. St. Clair Baddeley. I have also to acknowledge certain suggestions derived from papers by Prof. Bury and Mr. Tozer in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Other authorities used and consulted will be dealt with in the introduction.

It must be gratifying to the rare students of this period to know that the British school in Athens which has done so much for classical archæology has of late turned its attention to the Byzantine and Frankish remains in the Morea, and that the work carried out during last spring and summer by Mr. Ramsay Traquair, will shortly be recorded in one of the invaluable publications of that institution. I am indebted to him for the plans which appear in the present volume.

There are one or two points which call for personal explanation. In dealing with a subject where the

characters who pass across the stage are Greeks, Frenchmen, Flemings, Italians, and Spaniards, to enumerate only the more obvious nationalities, I had no little hesitation in arriving at a decision as to the form in which to render their proper names. Consistency recommended the policy of presenting them all reduced to the common denominator of English equivalents. But consistency would then have led me into many anomalies. Transformations of Greek names into English are not acceptable, and the retention of the original Greek form in Latin letters savours of pedantry. I have as a general rule adopted a compromise, using English equivalents in the case of ordinary everyday Christian names, but otherwise preferring the Latinised form of Greek proper names, and, in respect of other nationalities, the form of the name familiar in the language of the country to which the individual indicated belonged. Where a Christian name preceding a local or family name is linked to it by the prepositions *de*, *di*, *da*, or *dalle*, it seems to me it should retain the character of the language to which the surname following it belongs. Thus therefore Henry of Flanders, but Gautier de Brienne; Ferdinand of Aragon, but Pietro dalle Carceri. Even to this principle absolute consistency is difficult. A generous latitude, moreover, may enable the writer to distinguish between personalities with identical names. Boniface is familiar to English readers as signifying a pontiff or an innkeeper, but Bonifazio seems to me at least more appropriate to the fighting marquis of Montferrat.

As regards the names of places again, I had set out with the general principle of retaining the Greek

spelling as far as possible when the name used in the middle ages was of purely Hellenic origin—the *k*, that is, for hard *c* sounds, and the *b* for *v* sounds—thus distinguishing, for instance, Kephalonia and Kalamata from Clairmont and Carytena, names which grew up during the Frankish occupation. But this principle also led to difficulties if consistently followed. I could not offer an English reader Korinthos, and still less Korinth; nor would Vervena have been recognisable to him if written Berbena. Anxious to avoid any possible suspicion of pedantry, I have rejected consistency in favour of a rational *norma loquendi*, and have employed the common forms in daily household use for such names as Athens, Thebes, and Corinth, and in less familiar names have retained their Greek form. Occasionally a departure from this general rule will be deliberately adopted to differentiate two places having the same name.

It is impossible in a work of this kind to dispense with footnotes, but in order not to overburden the page, I have included some of the longest, the presence of which in close proximity to the text is not necessary for its elucidation, in a separate appendix, to which references are given in the footnotes.

I wish also here to explain why I have entered at considerable length into the history of the fourth crusade, which Gibbon has described in a manner with which no later author would willingly challenge comparison. It is because a proper appreciation of the forces which contributed to the dismemberment of the Byzantine dominions, of the manner in which the partition was carried out, and in which again the principles originally laid down were partially abandoned, throws so much light on subsequent develop-

ments and motives of action, that it is necessary, for the proper understanding of what is to follow, to place all the details once more before the reader.[1] Such a prologue to the history of the Morea is moreover justified by the existence of a prologue to the chronicle, which covers a similar field.

Since the period of my first sojourn in Greece I have made more than one journey to the land whose people and history have occupied so large a portion of my thoughts, and have studied several of the principal sites famous in its medieval history. The Greeks themselves are little enamoured of the period of Frankish occupation, and show no disposition to value the monuments of that epoch. As one who has endeavoured to show his appreciation of their beautiful country and many admirable characteristics on other occasions, I would appeal to my friends among that kindly and hospitable nation which is showing the world how admirably it can safeguard the sacred trust of its heritage of antiquity, not altogether to despise or neglect the relics of a time which, if not glorious for Greece, is still one of deep interest to the student of history. It is moreover a time to which they may look back with some measure of gratitude, since it infused new vigour into a population enervated by long years of neglect and lassitude, and with pride, since it testifies to the failure of a foreign social and religious system to prevail in the long run over those vital national characteristics which have ensured the continuity of the Hellenic race.

[1] There are moreover points which have escaped Gibbon, such as the signing of a treaty by Venice with the Sultan Melik el Adil at the moment when she was ostensibly equipping a crusade against him.

ABBREVIATED REFERENCES USED IN NOTES

G. C.—"Chronicle of Morea." Greek metrical versions. References are to Professor John Schmitt's edition. Byzantine texts. Methuen: London, 1904.

F. C.—"Chronicle of Morea." French prose version. References are to pages of Buchon's edition in "Recherches Historiques" (*infra*).

A. C.—"Aragonese Chronicle of Morea"—"Libro de los Fechos et Conquistas del Principado della Morea." From Heredia's "Grant Cronica de los Conquisidores." References are to the edition of A. Morel-Fatio, published by the Société de l'Orient Latin (Série historique IV.). Geneva, 1885.

BUCHON, *R. H.*—"Recherches Historiques sur la Principauté Française de Morée et ses hautes Baronies," par Buchon. Two volumes. Paris, 1845.

BUCHON, *N. R. H.*—"Nouvelles Recherches Historiques sur la Principauté Française de Morée," par Buchon. Two volumes. Paris, 1843.

BUCHON, *G. C. et M.*—"La Grèce continentale et la Morée." Paris, 1843.

DU CANGE.—"Histoire de Constantinople, sous les empereurs françaises," par C. Du Fresne, seigneur du Cange, 1657—unless other references are specially indicated.

GUICHENON, *Savoie: preuves.*—"Histoire génealogique de la Royale Maison de Savoie." Guichenon. Preuves.

HOPF, *G. G.*—"Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis auf unsere Zeit," by C. Hopf, published in the "Allgemeine Encyklopädie der Wissenshaften and Künste, von Ersch und Grüber."—Separat-Ausgabe, Griechenland in 8 Bänden. Brockhaus: Leipzig, 1870. The history of Hopf is contained in volumes 6 and 7.

HOPF, *Chron. G. R.*—"Chroniques Gréco-Romanes, inédites ou peu connues," par Charles Hopf. Berlin, 1873.

LEAKE, *Morea.*—"Travels in the Morea," by William Martin Leake. Three volumes. London, 1830.

LEAKE, *Pel.*—"Peloponnesiaca," by W. M. Leake. London, 1846.

LEAKE, *N. G.*—"Travels in Northern Greece," by W. M. Leake, in two volumes. London, 1835.

MAS LATRIE, *Mélanges historiques.*—"Commerce et expéditions militaires de la France, in Mélanges Historiques," vol. iii. J. M. J. L. Mas Latrie, 1880.

SANUDO, *Ist. di Rom.*—"Istoria di Romania composta per Marin Sanudo detto Torsello, e divisa in quattro parti; da lui composta in Latino ma quivi tradotta." Published by Hopf in "Chroniques Gréco-Romanes" (*supra*), where he gives the somewhat different title inscribed on an outer sheet which contains the MS. in the Marcian Library at Venice, together with the MS. of the Italian translation of the chronicle. The proper title is that given above.

ST. GENOIS, *Droits primitifs.*—"Droits Primitifs des Anciennes Terres et Seigneuries du Pays et Comité de Haynaut," par le Comte Joseph de St. Genois. Paris, 1782. Later volumes are: *Monuments anciens.*—"Monuments anciens receuillis par le Comte Joseph de St. Genois." Deuxième partie du Volume depuis la page 463, jusque la page 1071. Annoncé en 1782. Lille. J. Daniel. Deuxième Volume. Bruxelles. Weissenbruch, 1806.

TAFEL und THOMAS, *Urkunden.*—"Urkunden zur älteren Händels und Staats geschichte der Republik Venedig, mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante," herausgegeben von Dr. G. L. Fr. Tafel und Dr. G. M. Thomas, in *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum.* Diplomataria et Acta, vols. xii., xiii., and xiv. Published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Vienna, 1856–7.

THOMAS, *Dipl. Ven-Levant.*—"Diplomatarium Veneto. Levantinum," edited by G. M. Thomas in the Venetian *Monumenti Storici.* Serie prima., vol. v. Venice, 1880.

CONTENTS

VOL. I

PAGE

PREFACE v

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN REFERENCES xiii

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER I

THE PROLOGUE—THE SACK OF CONSTANTINOPLE. . . 27

CHAPTER II

THE PROLOGUE (*continued*)—THE PARTITION OF THE EMPIRE 60

CHAPTER III

THE CONQUEST OF MOREA—GEOFFREY VILLEHARDOUIN I. AND GEOFFREY II. 101

CHAPTER IV

THE SETTLEMENT OF ATHENS AND EUBŒA—THE BARONIES OF ACHAIA 143

CHAPTER V

WILLIAM VILLEHARDOUIN 178

CHAPTER VI

PAGE

WILLIAM VILLEHARDOUIN (*continued*) 219

CHAPTER VII

CHARLES OF ANJOU, PRINCE OF ACHAIA—THE DUCHY OF ATHENS, 1263–1287—EUBŒA AND THE ISLANDS . 264

MAP (at end of Vol. I.)

THE PRINCES OF ACHAIA

INTRODUCTION

HISTORICAL AUTHORITIES

THE pioneer of historical research for the obscure period of the western occupation of the Byzantine empire, after the conquest of Constantinople by the Franks and Venetians in 1204, was the illustrious Du Cange,[1] whose *Histoire de Constantinople sous les empereurs français* was first published in the year 1657. In this and his *Historia Byzantina*, published in 1680, both of them models of conscientious study, he put together all the authoritative material which was at the time accessible. Buchon, who was born nearly two hundred years later, was the next great worker in this particular field of investigation, and in the fifty-five years of his laborious life he succeeded in rescuing from oblivion a mass of invaluable documents which, with those brought to light by Du Cange, have formed the basis of all subsequent inquiry into this neglected epoch. The results of his arduous labours are contained in his *Collection des Chroniques*, (1825, &c.); in his *Recherches et matériaux pour servir à une histoire de la domination française aux* 13^{e}, 14^{e} *et* 15^{e} *Siècles*, with the *Chroniques étrangères relatives aux expéditions françaises pendant*

[1] C. du Fresne, seigneur du Cange.

le 13e Siècle[1] (1840); his *Recherches Historiques sur la principauté française de Morée et ses hautes baronnies*, in two volumes; and the *Nouvelles Recherches Historiques*, dealing with the second epoch, also in two volumes (1843–1845); to which must be added the record of a sentimental journey to Greece, entitled *La Gréce continentale et la Morée*, 1843, and an *Atlas de la principauté française de la Morée*, containing sketches and reproductions of escutcheons, coins, and seals. He was occupied in embodying the substance of his assembled materials in a consecutive history, of which one volume had appeared in 1846, when death prevented the completion of the task he had undertaken.

Great as are the deserts of Buchon as an indefatigable and often happily inspired investigator, it must be acknowledged that the range of his studies in this particular field had not by any means exhausted the available sources of information, and that he was therefore not able sufficiently to control the inaccuracies of the Chronicle of the Morea to which, as his own discovery, he attached too exclusive an importance, while a certain pardonably chauvinistic enthusiasm coloured his anxiety to magnify the achievements of his own countrymen, and led him to attach too little value to the other factors in the Frankish domination of Romania. A keener historical sense is displayed by the English writer Finlay, in the brief sketch of the Frankish states which he included in his history of Greece. But even to this conscientious historian many sources of evidence which have been added later to our store of material were not open. The archives of Venice have since yielded a wealth of documents,

[1] Published in the *Panthéon littéraire.*

and the inquiries of Drs. Tafel and Thomas into the commercial and political relations of Venice to Byzantium and the Levant, published in *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, Diplomataria et acta* (vols. xii., xiii., and xiv. Vienna, 1856–7), have thrown a flood of light on many doubtful questions.

It was, however, the patient genius of the great German scholar, Professor Carl Hopf, which first laid a solid foundation for the exposition of the history of medieval Greece. His minute and exhaustive studies in the unpublished Angevine archives at Naples, and in those of many other Italian cities, together with his discovery in Venice of Sanudo's history of Romania, compiled about the year 1328, revolutionised pre-existing conceptions with regard to this hitherto obscure epoch. His monumental work, *Griechenland im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*, originally buried in the overwhelming bulk of Ersch und Gruber's Encyclopædia, but produced in 1870 in a more accessible form with other matter in two of the eight volumes which complete the article *Griechenland*, remains the standard authority, and compels admiration by its masterly thoroughness of detail. Owing, however, to the wide range and necessary subdivision of his subject, the inevitably sectional rather than consecutive treatment of the various ramifications, the minuteness with which he investigates the fate of all the innumerable petty states which arose on the dissolution of the eastern empire in 1204, and his scrupulous determination to omit no fact or incident connected with their fortunes which his researches had brought to light, this wonderful compilation is not in itself very readable, and the absence of adequate indexing detracts from its utility as a work of reference. It is probable

that Hopf himself regarded it chiefly as a storehouse of material for the more synthetic study which he was contemplating when death prematurely cut short the career of this brilliant explorer in the byways of Byzantine history.

The more important elements in the abundance of material collected by the three great authorities, Du Cange, Buchon, and Hopf, will now be briefly described, and in particular the curious and interesting documents referred to in the title of the present study as the *Chronicles of Morea.*

There exists in several forms, derived probably not so much one from the other as all of them from a common original, a record of unique value for the appreciation of the epoch to be described, the chronicle of the conquest of the Morea, with a prologue describing the preliminary history of the crusade, which ended with the taking of Constantinople by the Franks and the partitioning of the Byzantine empire. It supplies the local colour, the personal touch, and the sense of realistic environment, without which the story of the Frankish princes of Achaia, dependent on the evidence of treaties or rescripts and the scanty notices of Byzantine writers, would remain somewhat barren of interest. The chronicle was apparently first compiled in the early years of the fourteenth century. Unfortunately, in spite of the nearness of the events which it records, events almost within the tradition of living memory, this work of an uncritical age and writer is full of demonstrable inaccuracies, and can only be safely accepted as historical when its matter is confirmed from other sources of information. It was first brought to light by Buchon, who in 1825 published a translation of a Romaic metrical chronicle of the conquest of Morea, once in

the possession of Francis I. at Fontainebleau, and now in the National Library of Paris,[1] printing the prologue only in the original Greek. Another badly executed copy of the same document, made at a much later date, which bears the monogram of Henry II., interlaced with that of Diane de Poitiers, is also in the National Library.[2] The full Greek text was first published by Buchon in 1840,[3] and four years later he produced another version of the Romaic poem, which he had found in the University Library of Copenhagen.[4] This version differs in essential respects from the Paris text. It is rough and illiterate both in form and language, orthographically primitive, and metrically deficient, and a comparison of the two suggests the theory that a crude popular original was afterwards worked up by a writer of more literary capacity into the shape which the poem presents in the Paris text. It contains, however, a number of passages, some of them as long as fifty or a hundred lines, which are not to be found in the Paris manuscript. The two versions cover the same ground chronologically, concluding with the year 1292, though there are references to events of later date in both, probably glosses added subsequently to an original chronicle. In the Paris text, moreover, there is one passage which can only have been written after 1388. Both the beginning and the end of the Copenhagen chronicle are missing, and certain other sheets have dropped out. If, as it seems reasonable to suppose, the history was originally carried on for some years further, the concluding portion must have been lost before the text was remodelled in the form of the Paris manuscript.

[1] MS. 2898. [2] MS. 2753.

[3] *Chroniques étrangères relatives aux expéditions françaises.*

[4] *Recherches Historiques*, vol. ii.

Until quite recently Buchon's now rare editions of the Greek texts were the only ones available. Of late, however, Professor John Schmitt, who in 1889 published a remarkable monograph on the chronicle, has produced a critical edition of the two texts printed side by side,[1] with an invaluable introduction and glossary of notable words, which make this medieval document accessible to the general student. He draws attention to the existence of two other texts, one in the Library at Bern, which is an exact copy of the Paris MS., reproducing even mistakes with scrupulous accuracy, and the other at Turin, an inferior and mutilated copy of the Copenhagen MS., containing, however, some fifty of the lines at the beginning, which are wanting in that codex.[2]

Misled by a reference in this poem to a Βιβλίον τῆς κουγκέστας, which he assumed to be some older Frankish version from which the Greek text had been derived, Buchon prosecuted researches in Greece in the hopes of finding a French *Livre de la Conquête*. It is clear enough that the passage in question[3] really refers to a book well known at the time this chronicle was written as a history of the conquest of Syria and not of the Morea at all, perhaps the chronicle of William of Tyre. Nevertheless Buchon's erroneous assumption did eventually lead him to the rediscovery of a French prose version of the chronicle, not in Greece indeed, but in the Library of the

[1] *The Chronicle of Morea.* Edited by John Schmitt, Ph.D. Series of Byzantine Texts. Methuen & Co. 1904.

[2] During the many years for which the present author has devoted his leisure to the study of this period, only Buchon's texts were at his disposal. As, however, Professor Schmitt's study appeared before the work was ready for publication, the references to the text of the Greek chronicle have been amended and follow his enumeration of lines.

[3] Lines 91 and 92.

Dukes of Burgundy, now included in the Royal Library at Brussels.[1]

The manuscript of this French version is in a clear cursive script of the fifteenth century. On the sixty-second page is a curious interpolation in the form of an alphabet of rhyming proverbs in Italian. On the first sheet appear two incorrect titles of the contents. The proper title, written in the same hand as the rest of the script, on the third page, is to the following effect: *C'est le livre de la conqueste de Constantinople et de l'empire de Romanie, et dou pays de la princée de la Morée,*[2] *qui fut trouvée en un livre qui fu jadis del noble baron, Messire Bartholomée Guys,*[3] *le grand conestable, le quel livre il avoit en son chastel d'Estives.*[4] The manuscript concludes with the following words: *Tant com j'ay trové, tant j'ay escript de ceste conqueste de la Morée.* But in the opening words the author distinctly states that inasmuch as long histories are wearisome to many readers, he will not tell the tale as he found it written, but as briefly as possible. The French chronicle, which contains far less historical material than the Greek, is in fact a compressed or abbreviated version of some earlier book. It nevertheless carries on the history ten years further than does the Greek poem in the truncated form in which it has come down to us. It is also preceded by a table chronologically arranged of subsequent historical episodes down to the year 1332. The French chronicle was first published by Buchon in 1845.[5]

There also exists in the Library of St. Mark at

[1] *Bibliothèque des ducs de Bourgogne. Catalogue de Maréchal*, ii. p. 434. *Empire latin d'Orient*, No. 15702. Van Hulthem, 226.

[2] Written Lamorée throughout.

[3] Ghisi. [4] Thebes. [5] *Rech. Hist.*, vol. i.

Venice an Italian translation of the chronicle, incorporated with the manuscript of Marino Sanudo's *Istoria della Morea.*[1] The script is of the eighteenth century. This translation was, it is abundantly clear from internal evidence, made from the Greek version, but the translator was unskilful, and his knowledge of Greek was very inadequate. The text was published by Hopf, who rediscovered it, without any corrections of its many errors, in 1873.[2]

Two other documents in which large portions of the chronicle have been embodied must also be considered. The first is the Aragonese chronicle, entitled, *Libro de los Fechos et Conquistas del Principado de la Morea*, which was completed in 1393 by order of Brother Johan Ferrandez de Heredia, grand master of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, published with a French translation by Alfred Morel Fatio in 1885.[3] Heredia, a noble and stately figure in the annals of his order, a patron of learning and diligent collector of classical and contemporary books, as well as a man of action, will fill his place in the history of Achaia. He conceived the ambition towards the end of the fourteenth century of restoring the supremacy of the west in Romania. Nor did his first defeat and imprisonment among the Turks persuade him to abandon his dream, and while preparing for another attempt he caused the compilation to be made which forms the second part of the first volume of his *Grant Cronica de los Conquisidores.*

The Aragonese chronicle is admittedly a compilation. A little less than half of the total matter which it con-

[1] Append., *Ital. Class.*, vii. No. 712. [2] *Chron. G.-R.*

[3] *Publications de la Société de l'Orient Latin. Série historique*, vol. iv. Geneva, 1885.

tains is practically an abbreviated adaptation of the Chronicle of the Morea. But even in the portion which is directly drawn from this source a certain number of episodes are included which are derived from other authorities. In the opinion of the learned editor of the Aragonese chronicle the compiler worked upon a French text, not, however, the one with which we are familiar, but another conforming more closely in substance to the Greek version. He bases this conclusion on the fact that the Gallicised forms of Greek names, as disfigured by the French writer, reappear in the Aragonese compilation, which is at the same time interlarded with words betraying a Gallic influence on the author's style, while on the other hand it contains a number of passages of considerable importance which are only to be found in the Greek, and not in the French text which we possess. The argument based upon linguistic analogies must not be too strongly pressed. The dialect of Aragon, which had not yet developed its literary vocabulary, might well have been enriched by loans from the Provençal by a writer working at Avignon, and the forms of the Greek proper names employed are probably those that had been generally adopted in the west. The assumption of the existence of another French text seems hardly necessary in view of the fact that the compiler not unfrequently modified the contents of the chronicle in accordance with the evidence of other authorities, and it is more reasonable to assume, as Professor Schmitt has done, that both the French and the Greek versions were at the disposal of the compiler.

The second document is the Universal History of the Greek archbishop Dorotheus of Monemvasia, the

first known edition of which goes back to 1631.[1] In this popular work, which begins with the first crusade, a considerable portion of the chronicle is incorporated in a special additional chapter on the Frankish occupation of Morea, but it is transcribed into prose with many unnecessary orthographical errors. Here again the history is carried down to the year 1292 only, and it seems clear from internal evidence that Dorotheus used a Greek text similar to that of the Copenhagen manuscript, though his adaptation does not always strictly adhere to either of the Greek texts now extant. This is conspicuous in his enumeration of the baronies of Achaia. It is possible that he had before him some other similar but not identical text then existing in Greece, which perished under the domination of the Moslem, of whose presence in the Morea when he was writing we are reminded by the use of the word *bey* to render the *bailie* of the chronicle.

Buchon, with the enthusiasm of a discoverer, jumped to the conclusion that the French text was the work of an original writer and not a mere abbreviated translation. The passage at the beginning which admits that it is an abridgment he regarded apparently as having reference only to the prologue; or if this could not be maintained, as at any rate implying that the document from which the abridgment was made was also in French. He detected in the writing the charm of a natural and unaffected style, which he by implication denied to the Greek version, and he laid great stress on the

[1] *βιβλίον ἱστορικὸν, περιέχον ἐν συνόψει διαφόρους καὶ ἐξόχους ἱστορίας.* Buchon has reprinted the portion relating to the Morea in his *Chroniques étrangères*, in the *Panthéon littéraire.*

argument that the Greek author habitually mutilated French proper names, while the French author rendered Greek names by adequate synonymous forms, a contention which the texts do not altogether justify, and which in any case does not establish the conclusion he sought to derive from it.[1] In virtue of such hasty and unconvincing generalisations, he proclaimed the French to be the original text, to be in fact the very *Book of the Conquest* referred to in the Greek poem, overlooking the fact that the reference there is to a history of the conquest of Syria, and that there exists in the French text itself the parallel passage giving its title, the *Grant estoire dou réaulme de Jhérusalem.* Buchon's conclusions were nevertheless for the most part adopted by subsequent students. Finlay accepted them, and even the critical Hopf appears at first to have been convinced of the priority of the French chronicle, being impressed by the chronological difficulties involved in the genealogy of Érard Lenoir, which as presented in the Greek text includes individuals alive at a period long posterior to the date which must be assigned to the original version of the history. This passage, which appears to be, either wholly or in part, a later interpolation, furnishes indeed the only plausible argument which can be urged in favour of the priority of the French chronicle. Subsequently indeed Hopf reconsidered his attitude and reserved his opinion on the question of priority, promising a further in-

[1] The argument might equally be used to support an opposite conclusion. For if the Greek were the original text, we should consider it only natural that the author should go astray in the presentation of French names, which he only knew by hearing them distorted in popular parlance. A French translator, on the other hand, working on a written Greek text, would have no difficulty in rendering Greek names correctly.

vestigation of the subject, which he did not live to accomplish.

The first to contest the generally accepted conclusions of Buchon was Dr. Ellissen,[1] who pointed out the strong presumption existing in favour of the priority of the metrical text, and showed good reason for regarding the genealogy of Érard Lenoir, if not indeed the whole of the episode of which it forms the conclusion, as a later addition to the Greek text, inconsistent with the approximate date of authorship suggested by other passages in the poem. A careful study of the whole question, involving a minute examination and collation of the various texts, carried out by Professor John Schmitt,[2] has since thrown much light on the subject, and his investigations have fully corroborated the anticipations of Ellissen.

The arguments in favour of the priority of the Greek text, and the indications furnished by the matter for establishing the date of authorship, will be dealt with in an appendix,[3] as they will appear more comprehensible to the reader after he has gained some knowledge of the contents of the chronicle itself. It will be sufficient here to state the hypothesis which a careful study of the texts appears to warrant.

From the French version we learn that there existed a chronicle of the Morea in the possession of Bartolommeo Ghisi, the constable of Achaia, who was also one of the three paramount barons of Eubœa from 1311 to 1341, and that he had it in his castle of St. Omer, which he occupied approximately from 1327 to 1331. This chronicle was almost certainly a Greek

[1] Ellissen, *Analekten der mittel und neugriechischen Literatur*, vol. ii. p. 209. See Appendix II.

[2] *Die Chronik von Morea*, von John Schmitt. Munich, 1889.

[3] Appendix II.

chronicle. Greek very shortly after the conquest became the language of the Franks in Romania.[1] The sergeants and soldiers of the lower ranks had taken Greek wives, and certainly the second generation had adopted the local language. Later on, it is true, when the families of the original conquerors had for the most part died out, a constant flow of new blood from the west and the employment of foreign mercenaries may largely have modified this, but it was no doubt in Greek that a chronicle compiled for one of the great Frankish barons would have been written in the opening years of the fourteenth century. The chronicle once in the possession of Ghisi was, however, not precisely identical with either of the Greek texts which we possess, inasmuch as the oldest of these, the Copenhagen text, contains amendments or additions implying a somewhat later date. Both versions are moreover incomplete, and end with the year 1292. If we eliminate such interpolations, which can readily be accounted for by the modifying tendency of successive copyists to bring up to date a poem intended as this was for oral recitation or public reading, it is probable that we shall have in the Copenhagen metrical chronicle substantially the original historical record which was once in the castle of St. Omer at Thebes. It was undoubtedly the work of a Greek-speaking Frank or a Gasmule, as the children of mixed marriages were called, who wrote ungrammatically in the partially Gallicised vernacular employed by the Franks

[1] Hopf does not admit this. But there is stronger evidence in favour of the conclusion than mere probability. Just before the battle of Pelagonia, in 1259, Geoffroy de Bruyères is represented by the chronicler as describing the composite hosts of Franks and Epirotes as all speaking one language, in contradistinction to the polyglot army of mercenaries from Constantinople. This language could certainly not have been French.

of Romania. It could not have been composed by a Greek, as it is the work of a confirmed catholic, and its attitude towards the Greek nation and their church is throughout contemptuous and disparaging. It was composed before 1331 and perhaps after 1311, though, as will be shown in the appendix, a more than plausible theory can be advanced for assigning the composition of the original poem approximately to the year 1305, when it might well have been put together for the brilliant and popular marshal, Nicholas III. de St. Omer, who fills so large a place on the stage of its concluding scenes.

Not long afterwards, about the year 1333, an abridged paraphrase of the Greek chronicle, which had belonged to Ghisi, was made in French prose, in order to render the achievements of Frankish chivalry accessible to western readers, and especially to the new comers who were filling up the gaps caused by the disappearance of the semi-Hellenised families of the older nobles. This French version, which contains far less historical matter and omits or curtails most of the long speeches characteristic of Greek folk-poetry, contains throughout reference to a "conte," from which it was derived, which was continued up to the year 1304.

Not earlier than the year 1389 the Greek metrical chronicle, already shorn of its concluding portion, as we have it in the Copenhagen manuscript, was rewritten with metrical, orthographical, and grammatical corrections by a Greek of some literary pretension, who toned down the acerbity of the Frankish strictures on his nation and church, omitted certain passages, which if not material to the history are nevertheless of considerable interest, and added certain details derived from subsequent historical experience. This

remodelled chronicle constitutes the text of the Paris manuscripts.

The Greek chronicle in its metre and rhythm and to some extent in its form, especially in the grandiloquent speeches of its protagonists, presents analogies to the shorter klephtic ballad of later days. It is not impossible that the anonymous author embodied in his text the substance of other shorter poems in vogue among the *trouvères* and story-tellers at the little courts of the Moreote barons, glorifying particular episodes of the conquest. Such might well be the great fight of Jean Catavas and the *Saga* of Geoffroy de Bruyères, the story of whose second pardon by his uncle seems to be a repetition of the circumstances of the first, attached to a different episode. The poem as we have it is in any case in some respects the result of a process of evolution, with editorial modifications and references to certain prominent individuals falling into the past tense after these had disappeared from the contemporary scene.

But the title of *Chronicles of Morea* prefixed to the present study has a secondary and a wider reference. Our knowledge of the circumstances under which the actual conquest of the peninsula took place is really derived from the contemporary chronicle of Geoffroy de Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne, and afterwards of Romania, the famous historian of the crusade of 1204, and uncle of the first Prince of Achaia who bore the same name. He wrote, or more probably dictated, his narrative without ornament or erudition, like the gallant soldier he was, and left a plain unvarnished tale which, if it passes over much which is to the disadvantage of the Franks, bears the impress of a conscientious desire to record truthfully the facts as they

presented themselves to his appreciation. His well-known history is, however, more especially concerned with the conquest of Constantinople and the establishment of the Frankish empire in which he played an important part. It breaks off with the death of his particular hero, the Marquis of Montferrat, in 1207, after which Henri de Valenciennes continues the story of Romania. The marshal himself appears to have lived for some years longer, but the date of his death is not known.

For the story of the crusade, indeed, and the period covered by the prologue, there is no lack of contemporary authorities. If Villehardouin is inevitably too kind to the virtues and too blind to the faults of his countrymen and associates, the case for the other side is presented in sufficiently glaring contrast by the Byzantine historian Nicetas of Chonæ, whose affectations of style afford an excellent foil to the straightforward narrative of the soldier historian. The personal sufferings of Nicetas in the horrors which followed the Frankish conquest steeped his pen in gall. He supplies much interesting detail, and enumerates many of the monuments and works of art which were destroyed in the sack of the imperial city. We have, moreover, what may pass for the official account in a number of original documents and in Baldwin's correspondence to the Pope contained in a contemporary life of Innocent III.[1]

Another chronicle of the time is that of the monk Gunther of Cîteaux, secretary and recorder of the Abbot Martin Litz of Basle, who left the crusading army at Zara and went to Palestine, whence he returned as an envoy to Constantinople in time to witness the second siege. Gunther is largely concerned with the pre-

[1] *Gesta Inn. III.*, published by Muratori. *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum.*

liminaries of the crusade, and dwells chiefly on its religious and devotional aspects. His narrative throws light on the mental attitude of the many who, terrified by the fear of papal anathema, deserted the enterprise when it was diverted from its legitimate object.

The chronicle of the conquest of Constantinople by Robert of Clary, the manuscript of which is preserved in the Royal Library at Constantinople, is valuable for the period of the siege, and on account of the description which it contains of the palaces and marvels of the ancient city, but it is of little use for subsequent events. The author, a native of Picardy, took part in the siege personally, probably in the following of Pierre de Bracheuil and Pierre d'Amiens, the heroes whose achievements he particularly celebrates. His simple and unaffected narrative no doubt represents faithfully what was said and believed by men of his own condition of life in the camp.[1]

Passages describing the siege from the chronicles of other contemporary writers, whose identity cannot be ascertained, have been collected by Buchon, and Hopf has published from the first portion of the *Russian Chronicle of Novgorod* what appears to be an account from the pen of an eye-witness at Constantinople.[1] The life of the epoch is described in brilliant colours in the Canzone of the troubadour Rambaud de Vaqueiras, the constant follower and friend of the Marquis Bonifazio. He accompanied his patron to Romania, where, as it appears from a letter in verse addressed to his friend Aimar de Valentinois, "the Englishman," he was knighted and received a good fee of lands in the kingdom of

[1] Both are published by Hopf in his *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes.*

Thessalonica. But these with other somewhat later writers, such as Philippe Mouskes, and certain Venetian historians who dealt with the epoch, tell us but little of the Morea.

There exists, however, one document of supreme importance for the history of Achaia, and indeed of Romania generally in the thirteenth century, the discovery of which must be placed among the eminent services of Hopf. For the manuscript which contains it, though known, had been branded as apocryphal and hall-marked to that effect by former archivists of the Marcian Library at Venice, which acquired it in the year 1831. The manuscript consists of two parts. The first is entitled *Istoria di Romania composta per Marino Sanudo detto Torsello, e divisa in quatro parti; da lui composita in Latino ma quivi tradotta*, and includes pages 1 to 49. The second part, covering pages 49 to 94, is simply entitled *Istoria della Morea*, and is nothing more or less than an Italian translation of a portion of the Greek metrical chronicle. The outer sheet of the manuscript has another title, viz. *Istoria del Regno di Romania, sive Regno di Morea composta per Marino Sanudo ne la lingua latina, et in questo manoscritto ridotta neli idioma Italiano divisa in quattro parti.*

This translation, purporting to be from a Latin work by the famous Marino Sanudo, which is itself no longer extant, was condemned on the ground that no such work is to be found in his *Secreta fidelium crucis*, and that it is not mentioned in Foscarini's history of Venetian literature. Nevertheless there appears to be little doubt that the translation in the Marcian Library was made from a genuine fourteenth-century document. The arguments in favour of its

authenticity will be found in the introduction to Hopf's *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes*, where the text is also published. In addition to his convincing exposition it may be noted that the historian Paulo Ranusio, who produced his *Guerra di Constantinopoli* in 1604, mentions, among the authorities used by him to complete the information of Villehardouin, a *Cronica di Marino Sanudo, nobile Venetiano*. It is difficult to understand what this chronicle could be, if not the very history now under discussion, since the *Secreta fidelium* only devotes one brief chapter to this particular crusade from the appearance of Foulque de Neuilly down to the partition of the empire. The latest extant letter of Marino Sanudo bears the date of 30th December 1334, and he died probably very soon after. The translation shows that the author was engaged upon the original in 1328, when Charles of Calabria was entrusted with the signoria in Florence, and perhaps even earlier, as he refers to Castruccio Castracane as being still lord of Lucca and Pistoja, and Castruccio died in September 1328.[1] He was still working upon it in 1333, a year which he specifies in referring to the establishment of Edward Baliol on the throne of Scotland. It would seem, therefore, that this history of Romania was the last work of Marino Sanudo, that it was composed at no long interval of time after the Chronicle of Morea, and is in fact approximately of the same date as the French version. It has, as far as it goes, a much greater historical value, being the work of a man of letters and a careful investigator who derived his information, as he is careful to inform us, from such an admirable first-hand authority as his cousin Marco Sanudo II., the

[1] *Castruccio signor ora di Lucca e Pistoja.*

Duke of Naxos, and from a number of other well-known persons, eye-witnesses of the facts which they communicated to him.

Finally, among contemporary writers on events in Romania a high place is occupied by the most genial and personal of chroniclers the Catalan, Ramon Muntaner. Besides recording the achievements of the kings of Aragon throughout the thirteenth century, their conquests in the Balearic isles, their wars against the Saracens, and the long struggle for Sicily with the house of Anjou, it is his pen which has described the meteoric career of the great sea-captain and free-lance Roger de Flor, and the history of the Catalan company, in which he was himself one of the leaders during the first five years of their odyssey in the Levant. The devoted adherent of Ferdinand of Majorca, who for a brief period controlled the destinies of Achaia, he delineates the characteristics of this chivalrous prince with a biographical detail which is rare in the literary documents of the time, and his chronicle contains for the most part first-hand information, and the record of his own personal experience. In the company of notorious freebooters and vagabonds he is able to assert himself as "indifferent honest," and he seems never to have been in doubt as to the divine approval of motives and actions which he found no difficulty in justifying. His self-complacency is, however, nowhere hypocritical or offensive, and his loyalty is above reproach. His chronicle, which is somewhat in the form of an autobiographical memoir, was written, it would appear, from memory when he had reached the age of sixty and had retired from active life, in some affluence, to his castle of Xiluella in the neighbourhood of Valencia, grateful for all the favours accorded

him, his salvation from adventures innumerable and the two-and-thirty battles in which he had taken part. It was there, he says, and under the following circumstances that he conceived the idea of writing his book: While he was lying asleep in his bed the vision of an old man robed in white appeared before him and addressed him. Rehearsing all the benefits which Heaven had showered upon him, his ghostly visitor declared that God had prolonged his life, and had given him health and prosperity for four reasons. Firstly, because having frequently been placed in a position which he might have turned to his own advantage and misused, he had refrained from so doing. Secondly, because when men who had wronged him had fallen into his hands he had not returned evil for evil but good. Thirdly, because it was the divine will that he should write his adventures, since no man living had served God so well. Fourthly, in order that the book he was to write might serve as an example to all kings of Aragon in time to come, who reading it might see how justice was rewarded, and so learn to do the thing that is right. Therefore he took up his pen, and all that he has indited is true, and written to the honour and glory of God and our Lady and the house of Aragon. This discoursive and entertaining book, which in addition to the historical matter contained in it gives an invaluable picture of the manners and morals of the age, deserves to be better known to English readers. It has been translated into French by Buchon, and into German by Lanz,[1] and forms the basis of Moncada's more familar work, the *Expedicion de Catalanes y Aragoneses al Oriente.*

[1] *Chronik des edlen En Ramon Muntaner*, von Dr. R. Fr. W. Lanz. Leipzig, 1842.

The Angevine Registers at Naples constitute one of the most invaluable sources of information with regard to the Morea after the treaty of Viterbo. Hopf was the first to make a systematic investigation of their contents in the interest of the history of medieval Greece. Unfortunately but few of these indispensable documents have as yet been published, and their volume is so great as to make the search for particular facts a very arduous labour. It appears from the evidence of Bolvito who, writing in 1585, speaks of 444 volumes, that these archives were first bound in 1556, during the vicegerency of the Duke d'Albe. They had been removed not long before from the mint to Castel Capuano, and the transfer may have suggested the expediency of putting them in order. Some of the volumes were supposed to have been destroyed in the revolution of 1647 under Massaniello, but as a matter of fact Castel Capuano was not touched by the rioters. On the other hand, during the tumult known as the *Congiura di Macchia* in 1701, not less than sixty of the registers were destroyed by the conspirators in storming the tribunals, which at that time had their seat in the castle. In 1845 the archives were transferred from Castel Capuano to the monastery of SS. Severino e Sosio, and a proper catalogue was made. In all 378 volumes and registers are now extant, covering a period from the accession of Charles of Anjou in 1265 to the death of King Robert in 1343. Most of the matters relating to Greece, the east, and to foreign policy generally are to be found in the *Littere extravagantes extra regnum.* But foreign affairs are also treated in the *Quaterni Justitiariorum* and the *Littere extravagantes infra*

regnum, when instructions affect officials within the kingdom.[1]

Not less precious for the control and correction of the inaccuracies of the chronicle during the first period are the letters of the Popes, especially the correspondence of Innocent III. The archives of the Vatican are a source from which it is possible that further light may yet be thrown on the relations during these centuries between the east and west.

Of great value for side-lights on the history of the Morea in the early years of the fourteenth century are the records of the Counts of Hainault, preserved in the archives at Mons, a summary of the contents of which will be found in *Droits Primitifs des Anciennes Terres et Seigneuries du Pays et Comité de Haynaut* (*Monuments anciens*) of Comte Joseph de St. Genois. The records of the house of Savoy, and many documents from the royal archives at Turin relating to Achaia, will be found among the *Preuves*, in Guichenon's *Histoire généalogique de la Maison Royale de Savoie*, and additional matter in Pietro Luigi Datta's *Storia dei Principi di Savoia del Ramo d'Acaia* (Turin, 1322).

Mention has already been made of the collection of documents illustrating the political and commercial relations of Venice and Byzantium, compiled by Tafel and Thomas. The researches of these collaborators were continued by Dr. G. M. Thomas single-handed, and the result has been incorporated in the Venetian *Monumenti Storici* under the title of *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, an assemblage of state papers

[1] For a general account of these documents see *Les Archives Angevines de Naples, Étude sur les registres du Roi Charles I.*, par Paul Durrien, 2 vols. Paris, 1887; and *Inventario Cronologico-sistematico dei Registri Angiovini conservati nell Archivio di Stato di Napoli.* Naples, 1894.

which includes many that explain the methods of the republic in dealing with the Catalans of the Athenian duchy. Illuminating also for the period under discussion is the *Commerce et expéditions militaires de la France* of the Comte de Mas Latrie, which is published in *Mélanges Historiques* (Tome iii. 1880). The erudite Spanish historian Don Antonio Rubio y Lluch has thrown much light on the obscure history of the Navarrese Company and the Catalan duchy of Athens (*Los Navarros en Grecia.* Barcelona, 1886), and among the Greeks themselves M. Constantine Sathas must be mentioned as one of the most eminent labourers in the labyrinth of Greek medieval history. An invaluable indirect contribution to our knowledge of the epoch is the numismatic treatise of the learned M. Schlumberger, *Les Principautés Françaises du Levant.*

Existing histories which deal with this period consecutively, in addition to the monumental work of Hopf and the brief sketch included in Finlay's history, are the *Geschichte Griechenlands seit dem Absterben des antiken Lebens bis zur Gegenwart* of Gustav Friedrich Hertzberg (Gotha, 1877), which is based on the materials furnished by Hopf; the *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, by Ferdinand Gregorovius (Stuttgart, 1889); and *L'Achaie Féodale*, par la Baronne Diane de Guldencrone, *née* de Gobineau. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1886). The papers published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, "The Lombards and the Venetians in Eubœa," by Mr. John Bury, and "The Franks in the Peloponnese," by Mr. H. F. Tozer, represent the only contribution to the historical literature of the subject in English since the ground was broken by Finlay.

It only remains to specify the Byzantines who, after Nicetas, the historian of the siege of 1204, were contemporaries of the long struggle between Frank and Greek. Of these Georgius Phrantzes, the friend of the last Greek emperor, Constantine Palæologus, covers the most comprehensive period with his chronicle, viz. 1259 to 1477, and during the latter years he played a conspicuous part in affairs which he has recorded. Distinguished as a diplomatist and a man of action, after many strange experiences he retired, when both his son and daughter had died in slavery, to a monastery in Corfu, where his concluding days were devoted to the composition of his entertaining narrative. A period almost as extensive (1298–1465) is embraced by Chalcocondilas, an accomplished and well-informed writer, so long as he is dealing exclusively with his own country. Giorgius Acropolita, whose text is concise, and perhaps only an epitome of a longer work which has not survived, is the historian of the Greek empire during its eclipse and through the ascendency of the Franks (1220–1282). Giorgius Pachymeres, a priest and a great authority on ecclesiastical law, deals similarly with a brief term of fifty years (1258–1308). The record of his own times (1320–1357), compiled by Johannes Cantacuzenus, after his resignation of the imperial throne and retirement into monastic seclusion, though written with dignity and with a considerable sense of style, is in reality rather an apologia for himself and his partisans than an unbiassed contribution to history. Nicephorus Gregoras, who had a personal share in the negotiations which he reports, and who carries the thread of his narrative back to the Frankish siege of Constantinople,

may be regarded as the rival contemporary historian of the emperor-monk.

Illustrations and plans of many of the Frankish castles, as they appeared in the latter half of the seventeenth century, during the Turkish domination and before the temporary Venetian conquests in the Morea, will be found in the *Teatro della Guerra* and the other topographical works of the Venetian geographer Coronelli.

Other authorities whose works have been consulted or quoted will be indicated as occasion arises in footnotes to the text.

CHAPTER I

THE PROLOGUE

THE SACK OF CONSTANTINOPLE

In the closing years of the twelfth century, while St. Francis was still a child, Foulque of Neuilly, a French parish priest whose early life offers some points of resemblance to that of the mendicant apostle, was already denouncing the universal corruption of his age. Contemporary superstition readily credited the ascetic with miraculous powers and his influence spread through the whole north of France. In 1198 Cardinal Lothar, of the family of the Counts of Segni, ascended the papal throne at the age of thirty-seven and assumed the name of Innocent III., which he was destined to make memorable. Supreme over the Roman municipality and freed from the fetters of imperial control, he at once allied himself with the popular tendencies manifested by the burghers of the Italian communes. The champion of their independence, he at the same time vindicated the independence of the Church, and soon became arbiter of the destinies of Europe. A true successor of Hildebrand, he contemplated the subjection of the eastern Patriarchates to Rome, and fired with the ambition of founding an universal church, he recognised in the dissensions which prevailed among the successors of Saladin a golden opportunity for the realisation of the

crusaders' dream. But the great of the earth had experienced many disillusions on the path of eastern adventure, and the crusading veterans of France and England were at this time absorbed in the feud between their rival monarchs. True to his democratic instincts, Innocent looked rather to the masses and the clergy in issuing to mankind a new appeal for the liberation of the holy cities. In the revivalist of Neuilly he discerned a fitting instrument to stir the popular enthusiasm, and appointed him officially to preach the crusade. Meanwhile papal Legates were endeavouring to secure the preponderating sea-power of Venice for the cause, and to reconcile the long-standing feud between Philip and Cœur de Lion which only terminated with Richard's death.

Thibaut, the young Count of Champagne and Brie, whose elder brother had died in the Holy Land as titular king of Jerusalem, was as closely related to the French as to the English king, but had embraced the party of the latter. After Richard's death he made his peace with Philip, and celebrated the event by proclaiming a great tournament at his castle of Écri-sur-Aisne. Not only the local barons and feudatories but a great gathering of nobles and knights from all parts of France assembled there. The galleries were crowded with onlookers, and the horsemen were ranging themselves for the jousts, when suddenly, as the trumpets sounded and the heralds advanced to proclaim the names and titles of the combatants, there strode into the lists with an arresting gesture the haggard form of the priest of Neuilly, who, in a voice which struck awe into the hearers, called on that great gathering in the outraged name of Christ to forsake such worldly vanities and rally to a nobler battle-cry.

Thus it came about that Count Thibaut, with the sudden enthusiasm of his twenty-two years, took the vow of the cross before the eyes of all men at the tournament of Écri-sur-Aisne, and with him his cousin, Count Louis of Blois and Chartres. Their example was followed by two of the most influential barons of France, whose military reputation was sure to enlist many adherents to the cause, Renaud de Montmirail and Simon de Montfort, afterwards the savage persecutor of the Albigenses. The feudal chivalry of Champagne rallied round their overlord, and among the many that here assumed the cross were Nevelon, bishop of Soissons,[1] the bishop of Troyes, Count Gautier de Brienne, Manasses de Lille Macaire de St. Ménéhould—great names in the wars of Romania—and Geoffrey Villehardouin, marshal of the county and historian of the crusade, together with his nephew, Geoffrey the younger.[2]

The marshal does not relate whether Marie of Champagne, the sister of Thibaut, was among the ladies who sat in the gallery at the famous tournament, but a few months later her husband, Count Baldwin of Flanders and Hainault, together with his brother Henry and his nephew Thierri, took the cross and were joined by the foremost chivalry of Flanders in Renier de Tritt, Jacques d'Avesnes, Conon de Bethune,[3] and Jean de Nesle, the castellan of

[1] Elected in 1176, afterwards bishop of Thessalonica.

[2] The name of Villehardouin is derived from a village and castle near the river Aube, in the diocese of Troyes. The Abbey of Arrikour in the diocese of Troyes was founded by this family as early as 1139, and since that day they were buried there. The Seigneurs de Joinville and de Villehardouin were joint founders with the Counts of Champagne of the Abbey of Bouillencourt in 1149 (Du Cange, Comments on Villehardouin's chronicle).

[3] Sully in his memoirs describes his illustrious ancestor, who afterwards became regent of the Frankish empire, as Coësne de Bethune, and says that he was accompanied by his brother Antoine.

Bruges.[1] Count Hugues de St. Paul followed suit, and the movement began to spread southwards and eastwards. The bishop of Halberstadt was won to the cause, the Cistercian Abbot Martin Litz preached the crusade at Basle, and a number of German knights gathered round Berthold of Katzenellenbogen, the friend of minstrel and minnesinger, whose ruined tower still fronts St. Goar upon the Rhine.

A parliament of barons assembled at Soissons under the presidency of Bishop Nevelon, and again, after a short interval, at Compiègne. Count Thibaut was selected for the leadership of the projected enterprise, while Louis and Baldwin were associated with him in the command. Each of the three chiefs appointed two envoys with full powers, who were despatched forthwith to Venice and the maritime states of Italy to negotiate for the transport of the crusaders. Villehardouin the marshal was one of those chosen to represent the Count of Champagne. They arrived in Venice in January 1201, and, after a brief negotiation, the Doge Enrico Dandolo, whose years had not damped his adventurous spirit,[2] submitted to them a convention, in accordance with which the republic of Venice was to provide transport to Babylon (Egypt) for 4500 knights, 9000 sergeants,[3] and 20,000 foot soldiers, provisioning them for nine

[1] The same Jean de Nesle or Nêle, it would seem, for whom it is recorded at the end of the volume that the Lord of Cambrein caused the *High History of the San Graal* to be written.

[2] Marino Sanudo, in his *Vita de' Duchi di Venezia*, says he was eighty-five when elected in 1192. Villehardouin says he was very old. Gibbon points out that his extraordinary longevity is not dwelt upon by the original writers. Sanudo's estimate seems exaggerated, as he could scarcely have endured the fatigues of the campaign at the age of ninety-six. John of Brienne was, however, elected emperor-regent of Constantinople in his eightieth year.

[3] Sergeants. See App. I. note 1.

months, for a sum of 85,000 silver marks, to be paid in four instalments within a year. The ships were to remain at the disposal of the crusaders for a year and a day from the date on which the expedition left Venice. Furthermore, the republic was bound to equip on her own account fifty armed galleys to take part in the enterprise "for the love of God," and on condition that she received a half share of all lands and loot which fell to the conquerors. The Doge carried these propositions, which were accepted by the Frankish envoys, successfully through the greater and the lesser council, and the convention was accordingly signed and sealed with due formalities of oath on the holy relics, and sent to Rome for confirmation. The Pope, traditionally mistrustful of Venetian loyalty, made his ratification conditional on an engagement that the sword should not be drawn against Christians, unless some unjustifiable attack should necessitate self-defence, and even then only if the Apostolic Legate accompanying the host sanctioned reprisals. From the lagoons four of the envoys proceeded to Genoa and Pisa, where, however, they met with no encouragement. Parting company with these at Piacenza, Geoffrey Villehardouin, who has recorded the story of the embassy, and Alard Maquereau, one of the representatives of Baldwin of Flanders, returned direct to France to report the result of their negotiations.

From Piacenza their road lay along the right bank of the Po, through the territories of the marquisate of Montferrat, where they were entertained by the Marquis Bonifazio, who in 1192 had succeeded his elder brother Conrad, the murdered lord of Tyre. The little court of Montferrat was famous throughout Italy for its hospitality to artists and poets; and the trou-

badour, Rambaud de Vaqueiras, has painted in glowing pictures the brilliant life and high achievements of a patron who was regarded as the most complete type of contemporary knighthood.[1]

In the passes of the Mont Cenis they fell in with Gautier de Brienne riding south with a large following of knights from Champagne. Since he had taken the vow of the cross at the tournament of Écri, Gautier had married Alberia, eldest daughter of the Norman Tancred, who, with her mother the widowed Sibylla, was driven from Sicily by the Emperor Henry VI., and had taken refuge in France. Her brother William, Tancred's only son, was dead, and Gautier, having obtained from Rome recognition of his title to the fiefs of Taranto and Lecce on behalf of his wife, as claimant to the throne of Sicily, now entered the service of the Pope. He promised to join the crusade with all his company by the time the transports were ready at Venice. But it fell out otherwise. His next few restless years were spent in constant warfare, and in 1205 he fell mortally wounded fighting the German feudatories established in Apulia by Henry VI., so that all these knights were lost to the crusade. Others of his name and lineage, however, were destined hereafter to play a great part in the Greece of chivalry.

When the envoys returned they found Count Thibaut lying dangerously ill at Troyes. Conscious that his end was approaching, he divided the half of his personal property among the members of his household, from whom he exacted an oath that they would be faithful to their crusading vow. With the other half he constituted a fund to be devoted to the expenses of the expedition in such manner as the barons

[1] See App. I. note 2.

should appoint. Having thus disposed of his earthly goods in a way which should ensure his soul's health, he died young and regretted on 24th May 1201.

The leadership was then offered to Eudes of Burgundy, and after he had refused it to Count Thibaut of Bar-le-Duc, who was also unwilling to accept the office. Somewhat disheartened, the chiefs of the crusade, who were being pressed by the Venetian representatives for payment of the first instalment due, held a parliament at Soissons. Here Villehardouin, fresh from the impression produced by his visit to the court of Montferrat, proposed that Bonifazio should be invited to take the place of Count Thibaut. His connection with the family of the Comneni,[1] his knowledge of the east and of eastern methods of battle gained in the last crusade, together with his experience in the wars of Lombardy and Apulia,[2] were urged in his favour, while the great reputation which he enjoyed in his own country seemed likely to secure the adherence of a large contingent of followers from Piedmont and Lombardy. The Marquis accepted the invitation which was addressed to him, and in due course met the Frankish barons once more assembled at Soissons. The legacy of Count Thibaut was made over to him, and the Count's retainers placed themselves under his orders, after the bishop of Soissons and Foulque de Neuilly had affixed the cross to his shoulder in the cathedral of Notre Dame. Before returning home he accompanied the bishop to the Benedictine monastery of Cîteaux, where a chapter of the order was held in

[1] Bonifazio's elder brother Riniero had married a daughter of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, his second brother Conrad the sister of the Emperors Isaac and Alexius III.

[2] He was an ardent supporter of his kinsman the Emperor Henry VI. from whom he had received in recompense the city of Alessandria.

September 1201, and Foulque preached the crusade to a great assemblage of churchmen and noblemen of Burgundy assembled there. Among those who took the cross at Cîteaux were Eudes de Champlitte of the family of the Counts of Champagne, and William his brother, the conqueror of Morea.

In the spring of the following year, 1202, the crusaders set out on their journey south, but the ardour of their first enthusiasm had cooled with the long lapse of time, and Foulque de Neuilly, the mouthpiece and spiritual guide of the enterprise, died almost before the march began. A great fleet, carrying many of the Flemish knights with a large body of sergeants and abundance of war material, put to sea under the command of Jean de Nesle. They were to meet the chiefs of the expedition in the Mediterranean, but many of these knights, ignoring the terms of the convention or mistrusting the designs of the republic, sailed directly to the Holy Land, where they accomplished the year of their vow as pilgrims, and took no further part in the crusade. A considerable body of French knights also embarked at Marseilles and thence set their course independently for Palestine, and when at last Count Baldwin, who had crossed the Mont Cenis with his following, passing through Montferrat and Piacenza, arrived in Venice, he learned that many more, disregarding their instructions, were making their way to the southern ports of Italy. He hastily despatched messengers to Lombardy to intercept them, but in spite of all his efforts a considerable number rode on into Apulia.

It soon became apparent to the Doge that the attenuated army which was encamped on the Lido would be unable to meet the engagements stipulated by the convention. Baldwin, Louis, and the Marquis

of Montferrat had contributed all their available private resources, and flung even their plate and jewels into the common stock, but there still remained a deficit of 34,000 marks. The fleet had long been ready, the Venetians had loyally carried out their share of the bargain, but provisions began to fall short in the camp, now swelled by the arrival of the German contingent, who brought nothing with them but their personal valour. There was no money left with which to purchase food, and the supplies collected by the republic to victual the army were withheld until the debt had been discharged. Hunger now caused continual desertions, predatory bands of starving soldiers began to infest the coasts, giving legitimate cause for protest, and a pestilence decimated the camp, so that many spoke openly of abandoning the expedition.

The need of the crusaders was the opportunity of Venice. The astute Doge had doubtless foreseen the inevitable condition of dependence on the resources of the republic into which this heterogeneous army was doomed to fall, and had craftily matured a plan to secure for his own ambitious purposes a powerful army of tried warriors such as the sea-state had never yet been able to command. Not long after the signature of the contract with the Frankish barons, he had despatched envoys to Cairo to negotiate with Sultan Melik el Adil the terms of a treaty of friendship and commerce which was eventually signed in May 1202. Under this treaty the Sultan assigned to the Venetians a large area in the port of Alexandria for a commercial station, together with other privileges, and guaranteed immunity to all pilgrims conveyed by Venice to the Holy Sepulchre. Just at the moment when the distress among the crusaders on the Lido had reached a

climax, Dandolo received news from Egypt that this convention had been signed with the Sultan, against whom ostensibly he had equipped the most powerful fleet ever marshalled in the Lagoons.[1]

In vain the papal legate Peter of Capua demanded the immediate despatch of the army to Egypt. In Venice, never submissive to the decrees of Rome, he was but coldly received, and the crusaders saw frustrated the hopes they had rested on the intervention of Innocent. The moment was propitious for the terms which Dandolo now submitted to the chiefs of the army. Venice would agree to postpone her claim for the payment of the 34,000 marks still due, until the debt could be liquidated out of the half share of the plunder accruing to the Frankish army in their joint undertakings, on condition that the crusaders would lend their arms to the republic to reduce the pirate city of Zara on the Dalmatian coast, which had grown rich in preying on Venetian commerce. The season was now too far advanced to risk the long voyage to Egypt, while Zara would provide good winter quarters and abundance of supplies. In spite of the opposition of the genuine crusaders and of all the partisans of Rome in the army these proposals were accepted by the leaders, who were indeed no longer in a position to resist whatever conditions the Doge might impose,

[1] Professor Hopf first drew attention to the existence of this treaty, which throws much light on the hitherto somewhat obscure story of the diversion of the crusade from its original purpose. It is, however, evidently alluded to in a MS. chronicle of the crusade in the Paris Library (fonds Cangé 9, No. 7188/5 f° 61, published in *R. H.* app. to vol. i. by Buchon), "Or vous dirai du Soudan de Babilone, &c. &c. &c. Puis fit appareiller messages; et si lor curqua grant avoir, et si les envoia en Venisse. Et si manda au duc de Venisse et as Venissiens salut et amistié; et si lor envoia moult grans présens. Et si lor manda que, s'il povient faire as Franchois que il n'alaissent mie en la terre en Egypte, que il lor donroit grant avoir, et si lor donroit grant franquise el port d'Alixandre."

and Dandólo, entrusting his son with the duties of his office during his prospective absence, himself publicly took the cross in St. Mark's and joined the expedition of 72 galleys and 140 transports which sailed from the Lido amid general rejoicings in the beginning of October. The indignant legate hurried to Rome to report that crusaders were about to attack a city whose feudal overlord, King Andreas of Hungary, had himself taken the vow. Innocent excommunicated the republic and the army, but Zara was stormed and taken in spite of the indignant protest of Simon de Montfort and the abbot of Vaux, before the majority of the crusaders had heard of the papal interdict.

The conquered city was divided into two zones, the Venetians taking possession of the quarters nearest the port, where the ships were laid up, while the Franks were lodged on the landward side. Then the allies fell to quarrelling among themselves and bloody encounters ensued. The efforts of the Doge and the barons, with the timely arrival of Bonifazio, who had been delayed up to the present time in Venice, were successful in restoring order and the army then settled down to winter quarters, holding the city in defiance of the Hungarian king. To the envoys sent to Rome to supplicate the repeal of the interdict, which lay lightly on the less orthodox Venetians, but profoundly disturbed the ruder warriors from the north, Innocent returned a paternal answer. He understood that the rank and file of the army had been misled by their leaders, and he therefore gave the bishop of Soissons powers to bind and unbind until the legate's return. The warning, which he now repeated, that the arms of crusaders were on no account to be used against Christians—however great, he added, might be the crimes of an usurping

emperor, however deplorable the moral turpitude of an empire which refused to recognise the papal supremacy —made it clear that he was fully cognisant of the further designs of Dandolo, which were destined to divert the crusade from the objects for which it was undertaken and lead on to events of epoch-making importance.

The Emperor Isaac II. (Angelus Comnenus) had been deposed and blinded by his brother in 1195. After the lapse of some years Alexius III., secure in undisturbed possession of the throne he had usurped, relaxed the rigorous prison discipline to which the dispossessed emperor had at first been subjected, and even affected to disregard the intrigues carried on by Isaac with his son-in-law Philip of Suabia through the medium of the Pisan colonists, who, having failed to obtain from the Emperor ratification of their commercial privileges, were actively plotting his downfall. His nephew, the younger Alexius, he eventually released altogether from confinement, conditionally on his renouncing his rights to the throne, and offered him a place at court. There can be little doubt that Isaac and his son also early conceived the idea of turning the religious impulse of the crusade to account for their own purposes, and sought to ally themselves with the leaders. During the Emperor's temporary absence from Constantinople the young Alexius succeeded, by connivance of the Pisans, in escaping on one of their ships disguised as a sailor, and reached Ancona safely in 1201.[1] Unsuccessful in pleading his cause with Innocent he went on to Germany, where he was received with open arms by his brother-in-law the

[1] Ronciani; Pisan History in MS. in archives of Pisa. See Buchon, *N. R. H.*, i. p. 12.

Emperor Philip and the Empress Irene. But the energies of the Hohenstaufen were at this period monopolised by his struggle with the son of Henry the Lion for the imperial crown of the west, and anxious though he was to thwart the plans of Innocent, who was supporting his rival, he could offer no material assistance. Alexius therefore returned to Italy and made definite propositions to Venice and to Bonifazio, offering the co-operation of the eastern empire in the crusade, if the army would first assist him to recover his father's throne, while the union of the eastern church to Rome was put forward as a condition likely to disarm the opposition of Innocent. Against these intrigues the reigning Emperor appealed to the Pope, but beyond the issue of the warning to which allusion has already been made, his representations met with no response.

In Bonifazio, whom he had met at Warzburg at the court of Philip of Suabia, the young prince found a ready coadjutor. His connection with the family of the Comneni involved the Marquis in their quarrel, and he looked to territorial concessions as his reward for assisting in the punishment of the usurper.

In Venice such proposals were sure of a favourable reception. The relations of the Doges with the Emperor Alexius had not been good and disputes with the empire had constantly recurred throughout the previous century. The recollection of the massacre of the Latins in Constantinople in 1123 under the tyrant Andronicus, when their quarter was burned to the ground and upwards of 4000 Christians were sold in slavery to the Turks, was still almost in living memory. The privileges acquired by Venice at Constantinople constituted an *imperium in imperio* hardly consistent

with the dignity of the state. Genoese and Pisans, jealous of her commercial supremacy, were continually endeavouring to secure similar privileges, and at their instigation the emperors had repeatedly denounced her commercial treaties, only to confirm them anew whenever the need of friendly sea-power threw them back on the resources of the great naval republic. Here was a prospect open for securing a preponderating position to which the rival cities could never aspire.

The struggle for the control of the trade-routes to the marts of the distant east has been the determining factor in international rivalries from the beginning of time. The nations of the ancient world contested the monopoly of the Asiatic commerce which reached Europe by the southern road through Syria and the Persian Gulf. Phœnicians, Hebrews, Greeks, Romans in turn secured the preponderance at the cost of great sacrifices. The rise of the Arab power and the wars of the cross had long blocked the Syrian outlet and the alternative channel through Egypt, and although for a time the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem and the influence of the feudal baronies established in the eastern parts of the Mediterranean promised to reopen the threshold to the gates of Asia, the Turkish invasion of Persia, followed by their advance towards the west, reinforced an impenetrable barrier to trade. The northern trade-route, however, from the Indus valley to the Oxus, where the fabrics of Chinese industry met the rich manufactures of India, and thence made their slow way, skirting the Caspian by Erzeroum to the Black Sea emporium of Trebizond, was open without interruption, and constituted an unfailing source of wealth to the capital of the empire, whence these wares were distributed over the Mediterranean. The Genoese,

the Pisans, and the Venetians struggled in irreconcilable rivalry for the commerce of Byzantium. The prospect of establishing a Venetian monopoly of the far eastern trade was undoubtedly the directing impulse of the fourth crusade.

The moving spirit of the enterprise is said moreover to have had a personal injury to avenge. Twenty years before his election Dandolo had been sent as an ambassador to Constantinople to protest against a decree of confiscation issued by the Emperor Manuel, which was followed by a wholesale imprisonment of Venetian colonists. It is stated by Venetian historians, and accepted by his biographer and descendant, Andrea Dandolo, that he was treacherously blinded on this occasion. But Villehardouin, his contemporary and personal friend, who would scarcely have omitted to impute to the Byzantines such a grave charge of having ill-treated an envoy, merely states that his eyes were intact, but that he had lost his sight through a wound or blow which he had received on his head.[1] Other authorities,[2] moreover, have recorded that this wound was received at Zara, apparently during a former siege.

[1] "*Et si avoit bieaus iex en sa teste, et si n'en véoit goute, car perdue avoit la vue par une plaie qu'il avoit eue el chef.*" There seems to be a difference of opinion as to whether Dandolo was wholly or partially blind. Andrea Dandolo calls him "*visu debilis;*" Nicetas, *πηρὸς τὰς ὄψεις*. The Chronicle of Novgorod (Hopf, *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes*), which seems to have been based on the evidence of a witness of the siege, says that the Emperor Manuel, "*oculos ejus vitro caecari jussit, itaque Dux non amplius cernebat quicquam.*" This agrees with the evidence of the Chronicle of Morea, where in the Prologue we find; "*Ycil dux si avait moulte courte veue, car l'Empereur des Grecs si l'avait embachiné les yeux, pour aucune occhoison.*" *Embachinér* apparently is a word coined to explain the torture of compelling the victim to stare into a basin of polished metal or glass long enough for the concentration of reflected sunrays to destroy the sight. It has, however, also been explained as signifying to hollow out, from a medieval Latin word, *imbacinare—bacinus.*

[2] Philippe Mouskes (Bishop of Tournay 1274–1282), in his rhyming history, and the monk Godefroix de St. Pantaleon; *apud* Ducange.

It was while the host lay in winter quarters at Zara that envoys arrived from Philip the Suabian, bringing the definite proposals of his brother-in-law Alexius to the crusaders. The army was pledged, they speciously argued, to fight God's battle in the cause of right and justice. It was therefore clearly their duty to intervene on behalf of the disinherited, while by so doing they would gain for the enterprise of the cross a support so powerful that its success must be assured. The terms which they offered on behalf of Alexius were the following: He undertook, upon his restoration, to place the whole empire under obedience to the Church of Rome; he would pay the crusaders a sum of 200,000 silver marks, in addition to supporting them for a year and furnishing 10,000 men himself, while he would maintain for the rest of his life a body of 500 knights in the Holy Land.

When these propositions were submitted to the parliament of barons, great opposition was raised by the Catholic party, but even the churchmen were, according to Villehardouin, divided among themselves. Many who mistrusted the Venetian alliance, and were anxious to return to their own countries, were delighted to be able to plead the papal interdict. The formidable strength of the Byzantine empire, which even in those degenerate days imposed on the imagination by the authority of long tradition and a reputation for inexhaustible resources, was still sufficient to awe the rude feudatories of the west, and the vows which they had taken offered a ready pretext under which to cloak their reluctance to persevere in what must have seemed to them a desperate enterprise. But the advocacy of the Doge and the Marquis of Montferrat prevailed upon the Counts of Flanders and of Blois, who, with

St. Paul and the more adventurous spirits, to the number of only twelve in all of the greater barons, signed the convention with Alexius. Simon de Montfort then withdrew from Zara and went over to the King of Hungary, taking with him a considerable number of the church party. Many more knights found other pretexts for departure, engaging themselves to return by oaths which they never meant to keep, while the common soldiers deserted in hundreds. Others remaining behind intrigued to bring about the failure of the campaign. A further blow to the hopes of the crusaders was the defection of the Flemings under Jean de Nesle, who had led the whole of his convoy from Marseilles direct to Syria.

After the Easter festival in April 1203, the ships of war and the transports were got to sea, and the expedition started for Corfu after dismantling the walls of Zara. Before the last ships had put out, the young Alexius joined the fleet in person, and was proclaimed as Alexius IV. at Durazzo.[1] While the army mustered in Corfu, a new plot, in which many of the leading barons were involved, was detected. They hoped to obtain ships from Gautier de Brienne, who was now holding Brindisi, and to desert the expedition there. The numbers of the crusaders were already quite inadequate to the magnitude of the undertaking on which they had embarked, and the defection of the followers of these knights and barons would have finally ruined the prospects of the campaign. The intercession of the three Frankish leaders was, however, on this occasion successful, and the force was kept together, engagements being given that ships should be available to transport all who desired it to

[1] Dyrrachion.

Syria whenever they should renew their application. And so at last, on Whitsun-eve, they broke up the camp at Corfu and set their course for the island sea.

It was an eventful moment in the story of the world, and it is not strange perhaps to find the chronicler for a moment conscious of the influence of clime and scene. "The day," he writes, "was fine and clear; the wind soft and fair as they loosed their sails to the wind; and Geoffrey, marshal of Champagne, who dictated this book, and never set word in it that was not true according to the best of his knowledge—and he took part in all the councils—bears you witness that so gallant a sight was never seen. Right surely it seemed that this fleet was destined to conquer the world, for so far as the eye might reach was nought to see but the sails of galleys and of ships, in such sort that the hearts of men rejoiced thereat."[1] Indeed, so magnificent a fleet had seldom put to sea. The van was led by the vermilion galley of the Doge, bearing the standard of St. Mark, a lion of gold upon a ground of crimson, and the banners of the nobles, brilliant with heraldic device, streamed from the mastheads of some three hundred stately ships.

So they coasted round the Peloponnese, and held a council of war at Negripont, while Alexius, with a portion of the force, landed in Andros and received the submission of the islanders. At length, on the 23rd June 1203, they came in sight of the capital. Lying off the monastery of St. Stephen, the rude chivalry of the north and west beheld with awe and wonder the sovereign city of the world lying vast and

[1] Villehardouin, § 62, ed. Du Cange.

mysterious in its girdle of battlements, palace rising over palace, crowned with innumerable domes and towers, and indeed it seemed to them that never knights adventurous had taken in hand so perilous a quest. In the church of St. Stephen another council of war was held, and the plan of Dandolo to seize the Princes Islands and make them a base for an attack upon the city from the sea was adopted. This scheme, however, was frustrated by the weather, which drove them on to Chalcedon, whence two days later they advanced to Scutari, while the cavalry, which had already been disembarked, covered this short distance by land. The Emperor Alexius III. had made but scanty preparations for resistance. A few old hulks in the harbour represented the Byzantine fleet, whose admiral took flight upon the first approach of the crusaders. But the walls had been repaired, and troops called in from the provinces. It is probable that the Emperor hoped to come to terms with the Franks, but the envoy despatched to their camp, with powers to compound, was curtly informed that his master must surrender in person to his nephew's mercy. On the other hand, the proclamation issued by the younger Alexius, and a progress which he made round the walls to show himself to the people, produced no effect. Therefore on the 4th of July a parliament of knights and barons assembled on horseback, and a plan of attack was concerted. The army was divided into seven battles, the van being arrayed under the Count of Flanders, and the rearguard under the Marquis of Montferrat. Their first objective was the suburb of Pera. A sufficient force was left behind to defend the camp, and the besiegers were towed by the galleys in transport barges to the scene of action.

The terrible northerners, "tall as their own spears in stature,"[1] leapt waist-high into the sea to dash up the foreshore, and the imperial troops, drawn up to meet them with all the pomp and parade of the east, forthwith turned and fled. The Golden Horn, which lay before them, was defended after the fashion of the time with a ponderous iron chain, extending from the city to the tower or fort of Galata, which was strongly held by perhaps the only reliable force in the Byzantine army, the English and Scandinavian mercenaries of the Varangian guard.[2] The crusaders barricaded themselves for the night in the Ghetto quarter of Pera. Early the following morning they were attacked by the Varangians of Galata and a large force brought up from the city in boats. The knights, however, ran to their arms, and after a fierce encounter possessed themselves of Galata, while Dandolo broke the chain and convoyed his ships into the Golden Horn.

It was now decided that the Venetians should assault the city from the sea, while the Franks stormed the walls on the land side. Hastily reconstructing the bridge over the Barbyssos which the Byzantines had destroyed, Baldwin and Bonifazio advanced in the direction of Vlachernæ and entrenched their camp in full view of the palace. Here they were from time to time harried by ineffectual sorties from the city, and in one of these encounters Guillaume de Champlitte had his arm broken. Meanwhile the vessels of the fleet prepared their artillery of mangonels and perrières, their scaling-ladders and falling-bridges. The general assault was fixed for the 17th July.

Of the seven battles into which the Franks had

[1] Nicetas, p. 347. [2] Varangians. See Appendix I. note 3.

divided their forces, three were left to guard the camp under Bonifazio, while the other four under Baldwin and his brother, Count Louis of Blois and the Count of St. Paul, took part in the assault. The first attack from the land side was not successful; the ladders were duly planted and as many as fifteen of the besiegers succeeded in obtaining foothold on the walls, only to fall under the terrible swing of the Varangian battle-axe or before the swords of the Pisans who had thrown in their lot with the Greeks. Two were made prisoners and dragged before the usurper Alexius.

Meanwhile the ships were advancing into a deadly hail of stones, bolts, arrows, and red-hot iron bars propelled by the engines of war on the battlements, and for a moment the line faltered. "Now," wrote the chronicler, "listen to a strange deed of prowess; for the Doge of Venice, who was aged and sightless, stood all armed at the prow of his galley; the banner of St. Mark was flying over him, and he cried to his men to put him ashore or they should render him account with their bodies. And so did they, for the galley touches ground and they leap forth and bear the banner of St. Mark on shore before him. And when the Venetians saw the banner of St. Mark ashore, and the galley of their lord the first to touch ground, they held themselves as put to shame and made for the shore also."[1]

Before long twenty-five towers were in possession of the Venetians. They fired the buildings adjoining the walls, and the smoke, blowing back on the Greek reinforcements, prevented their coming into action. Then at last the miserable Emperor led out his great host against the Frankish chivalry, and Dandolo

[1] Villehardouin, § 90, ed. Du Cange.

generously ordered his men to move to their assistance, abandoning the captured towers. The Greeks wavered face to face with the Frankish lines, and when at the approach of evening their retirement was ordered, the mailed crusaders issuing from their stockaded camp converted the retirement into a panic rout.

That night Alexius fled, carrying away his treasure and abandoning the city to confusion and anarchy. The aged Isaac, dragged from his prison, was dressed once more in the imperial purple and reseated on the throne at Vlachernæ, while messengers were despatched to the camp to inform the younger Alexius and the barons of the usurper's flight. At daybreak the following morning Geoffrey Villehardouin and Matthieu de Montmorency entered the gates as ambassadors and, riding to the palace between the long lines of English and Scandinavian axemen, submitted to the blind Emperor the terms of the convention upon which the crusaders had agreed with his son. Not without a warning note of misgiving as to his ability to carry out so liberal an engagement, the Emperor confirmed the articles of the treaty, and the barons then entered the city in state escorting their young ally, who was crowned as joint regent with his father on the 1st of August. The crusaders established their camp at Galata, the fleet lay at anchor off Pera, and a small number of knights under Pierre de Bracheuil remained as a bodyguard to Alexius, who still felt his position far from secure and could scarcely claim a mile of territory beyond the city gates. For this reason he prevailed upon the army to postpone their departure until the following spring, by which time he also hoped to meet his financial engagements. This

proposal found ready acceptance with the Venetians. They had asked for absolution from Rome for their share in the campaign and had received an ungracious pardon from Innocent, whose displeasure they did not scruple to incur again by further delaying the avowed objects of the crusade. Meanwhile Dandolo, having future eventualities in view, caused a portion of the walls to be razed to the ground. The imperial treasury, depleted by the fugitive usurper, was nearly empty, but vigorous efforts and timely confiscations enabled the Emperors to hand over 100,000 marks on account to the army.

The Marquis of Montferrat, Henry of Flanders, and the Count of St. Paul, with a portion of the host, tempted by liberal promises of bounty, now accompanied Alexius IV. on a progress through the empire, which he sought to pacify and reduce to allegiance, while Dandolo and Baldwin remained behind to secure the payment of the balance due to the army. The oppressive measures adopted to raise this money rendered these rapacious soldiers of fortune odious to the populace. The aged Isaac surrounded himself with astrologers and fanatical priests, and religious differences embittered the relations between the army and the Greeks. Alexius had forwarded to Innocent his profession of adherence to the Catholic Church, but the tenacious eastern hierarchy showed no sign of bending to the will of Rome. Familiarity only served to widen the breach between Greek and Latin. The earlier crusades and the passage of the western armies through the dominions of the eastern empire, so far from tending to diminish national antipathies, which dated from the schism between the churches, had constantly accentuated religious animosities and

reciprocal attributions of heresy which the ecclesiastics of either party were studious to envenom. The Greek Emperors had been detected in secret conspiracy with the Moslem leaders, whom the Franks honestly looked upon as the enemies of God, and were thus fit objects for retribution in their eyes. Now once more the churchmen on either side inflamed the popular passion, and the Latins within the city, the commercial colonies of Pisa and Amalfi, found their position intolerable, and were treated as spies by the Greek inhabitants smarting from the exactions of lawless Franks and Flemings. An occasion for open hostilities presented itself in an attempt made by a party of marauding soldiers to burn a mosque and loot the Moslem settlement. The Greeks took sides with the Saracens against the crusaders, and in the conflict which ensued the city was once more set on fire. The conflagration lasted two days and nights, ravaging the richest quarters over a front of half a league, and destroyed masterpieces of Hellenic art and priceless treasures of literature. The Latin inhabitants, now remembering the massacres of 1183, went over in a mass to the Frankish camp, and the citizens, stunned by this appalling catastrophe, saw with indignant resentment the camp of their enemies strengthened by the accession of some fifteen thousand souls.

In November Alexius returned to Constantinople. He had not been altogether unsuccessful owing to the prestige of his Frankish allies, but he had failed to secure the person of the fugitive usurper or to gain the allegiance of the formidable king of Bulgaria and Wallachia, Johannes Asan or Johannisa. He now affected to regard his father as a mere nominal sovereign. His intercourse with the Franks lost him

the sympathy of the Greeks,[1] while his religious apostasy had increased his unpopularity. He was wholly unable to satisfy the pressing demands of the crusaders and, growing alarmed at his critical position, he sought to regain the esteem of his subjects by repudiating his contract with the army. This brought matters to an open rupture. Conon de Bethune, accompanied by Villehardouin, was despatched to the palace to address a haughty ultimatum to the astonished Emperors, unaccustomed to such peremptory arguments, and the knights, riding back through the midst of murmuring guards and a menacing population, were glad to escape with their lives. The military party in the city found a daring leader in another Alexius, a prince of the house of Dukas, nicknamed Murzuphlus,[2] who for a while posed as the protector of the Angelus dynasty in a city seething with revolution. The appeal of the Emperor Alexius to the Franks to assist him in restoring order, prompted in all probability by the designing Murzuphlus himself, afforded this ambitious soldier the necessary pretext for declaring the younger Emperor a traitor to his country and flinging him into prison. The aged Isaac lay dying. The church party and the Varangian guard declared themselves for Murzuphlus, who assumed the enamelled buskins and was crowned as Alexius V. in St. Sophia in January 1204, while the deposed Emperor was strangled in his dungeon after poison had failed to do its work. It was publicly proclaimed that he had died a natural death, and he was buried with solemn pomp together

[1] Nicetas complains of his spending his days in gambling in the tents of the "barbarians" and submitting to familiarities from his boon companions inconsistent with his great position.

[2] This name, according to Nicetas, was given him from the thick shaggy eyebrows which met beneath his forehead, but the etymology is obscure.

with his father Isaac, whose end was accelerated by the fate of his son.

The treachery of Murzuphlus gave the necessary pretext for hostilities to the ambitious chiefs of the crusade, whose indignation was further aroused by a summary order to evacuate the country in a week. The clergy declared the war just and righteous, and proclaimed indulgence for all who should die in the struggle to bring the empire under obedience to Rome. A raiding expedition to Philea on the Black Sea coast, whence Henry of Flanders despatched large stores of provisions to the camp, was unsuccessfully attacked on its return in a sortie by Murzuphlus, whose influence was shaken when he came back wounded, having lost his imperial standard and a miracle-working image of the Madonna, in which the Byzantines reposed great confidence.[1]

The crusaders now prepared to storm the city, while the Greeks displayed an unwonted activity in repairing the shattered walls and towers. As a preliminary measure a parliament was held in the camp to decide the course of action which should be followed when the city fell into the besiegers' hands, and a convention for the partition of the empire was drawn up between the Doge on the one hand and Baldwin of Flanders, the Marquis of Montferrat, Louis of Blois, and the Count of St. Paul on behalf of the crusaders. The apportionment of the spoils, which were to be collected in a common stock, was laid down, and provision was made for extinction of the debt due to Venice out of the

[1] This image fell into the hands of Dandolo, who sent it to Venice, where it was received with great veneration and deposited in the sacristy of St. Mark's. On great festivals it is placed amid a blaze of candles on the high altar. P. Ranusio, *della Guerra di Const.*, p. 82.

share allotted to the Franks.[1] The citizens of the republic were to constitute in the empire a community governed by their own laws, and retain all the privileges they had hitherto enjoyed. The election of a new Emperor of Romania was to take place forthwith, six electors being chosen from the Franks and six from the Venetians. The Emperor was to take possession of a quarter of the whole empire, together with the palaces of Vlachernæ and Vukoleon, the remainder of the territories being divided equally between the allies. The clergy of the party which had not carried the imperial election were to receive the church of St. Sophia and elect a patriarch; adequate ecclesiastical endowment was to be provided from the actual church property in the empire, the balance being placed in the common stock. The two parties bound themselves to remain in the country and assist in reducing the empire to submission for a complete twelvemonth after the last day of March of the current year. Twelve commissioners were to divide the conquered territory into fiefs and to assign the various servitudes due to the Emperor as overlord. It was, however, especially laid down that the Doge was personally exempted from the oath of fealty, a clause which appears to imply some preliminary understanding that Dandolo was not himself to be a candidate for the throne.[2] No subject of nations at war with the conquerors was to be tolerated in the empire so long as the war continued. Both

[1] This provision is omitted by Villehardouin, but will be found in the Venetian text. Dandolo, x. 332; Muratori, xii. 323; also published in *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus*, vol. ccxv., J. P. Migne, Paris, 1891; and Paulo Ranusio, *della Guerra di Const.*, pp. 84, 86.

[2] Sciendum est etiam, quod vos, prædicte domine dux, non debetis Imperatori qui fuerit electus, vel imperio, ad aliqua servitia facienda, juramentum præstare, propter aliquod datum vel feudum, sive honorificentiam, quæ vobis debeat assignari, &c.

parties undertook to endeavour to obtain the sanction of Rome to these arrangements and the issue of the interdict against any signatory who should violate the treaty. Finally provision was made for subsequent modifications of the compact should they be found necessary. A provisional act of partition was also drawn up, in negotiating for which the knowledge gained by Venice in her eastern trade enabled her to secure preponderating advantages.

The first assault upon the walls by sea was repulsed with considerable loss, and Murzuphlus, issuing from the city in state, set up his scarlet tents in a commanding position to witness the anticipated annihilation of the crusaders. when, nothing daunted by their first failure, they resumed the attack three days later, the 12th April 1204. A favourable breeze brought the fleet right up under the walls on the sea-front of the city. The warships had been lashed together in couples, in order that they might simultaneously discharge a greater weight of warriors from the mast-head bridges. The honours of the day fell to the *Pellegrina* and the *Paradiso*, from whose grappling-ladder André d'Urboise was the first to gain a footing on the walls,[1] winning the prize proclaimed by Dandolo and planting on the conquered tower the banner of Bishop Nevelon. All along the sea-front the storming-ladders and drop-bridges were successfully maintained, and tower after tower was secured by the besiegers. The horses were disembarked from the transports, and the cavalry threatened the imperial camp. Pierre d'Amiens forced one of the city barriers, and the crusaders pouring in

[1] The MS. of the Paris Library, fonds Cangé 9, No. 7488/5, records: "Cil qui premiers y entra fu Venissiens et fu ochis. Et li autres après fu uns chevaliers de Franche; et ot à nom Andrix d'Ureboise."

through the breach opened gate after gate to the horsemen. The Greeks fled panic-stricken into churches and public buildings, which they barricaded, while the Emperor withdrew into the palace enclosure of Vukoleon. Night fell upon a scene of confusion and slaughter, but prudence dictated a temporary pause in the advance of the invaders, for the intricate streets, the churches, and towers were still held by masses of troops, and Murzuphlus was endeavouring to rally his scattered mercenaries. In order to interpose an effective barrier between his bivouac within the walls and the enemy's positions, Berthold of Katzenellenbogen gave the signal for another conflagration, and again for four-and-twenty hours the imperial capital blazed until there were consumed, the chronicler records, more houses than stood in the three largest cities of France. All efforts of Murzuphlus to restore the spirit of his troops were vain and, accompanied by a small band of followers, he fled under cover of darkness through the Golden Gate, carrying with him the Princess Eudoxia and her mother the Empress Euphrosyne, wife of the third Alexius. His tents, baggage, and jewellery fell into the hands of Pierre de Bracheuil.[1] The distracted archons assembled by night in the church of St. Sophia to elect a successor to the fugitive usurper in the person of Theodorus Lascaris.[2] Their choice was a worthy one, but Lascaris hesitated to assume the purple in the doomed city, and realising that in the general disorganisation even the Varangians could no longer be trusted,[3] he embarked on his galley and carried with him to Asia, where he was to found

[1] Robert de Clary, *apud* Hopf, lxxviii.

[2] Son-in-law of Alexius III.

[3] The surrender of the English and Danes to the crusaders is recorded by Robert de Clary, lxxx.

a new dynasty, the last tradition of spirit and vigour which survived in the degenerate empire.

Day broke and the crusaders closed their ranks to contest the still unconquered quarters of the city. But all resistance had collapsed. Bonifazio took possession unopposed of the palace Vukoleon, where many of the great ladies of the court had taken refuge, including the ex-Empresses Agnes of France[1] and Margaret of Hungary, the young widow of Isaac Angelus, who was shortly to become the bride of the Marquis and share the new throne which his victorious sword had won for him. Vlachernæ was surrendered to Henry of Flanders. Then began an orgie of pillage and massacre which neither the piety of Baldwin, the policy of Dandolo, nor the philhellenism of Bonifazio were able to control. These soldiers of the cross violated the most ancient shrines of Christendom in their search for marketable relics, and desecrated the altars with scenes of bloodshed and ribaldry. The former Latin inhabitants who had taken refuge with the conquerors were free to indulge their private vengeance, and negotiate their debts in the blood of their creditors. Through four days of terror the city drank the dregs of the cup of trembling. Even the dead were placed under contribution, and the graves of the Emperors in the Church of the Apostles were torn open. The rude Germans, intoxicated with a passion for destruction, in their unreasoning repugnance to the idols of paganism, threw down the monuments of antiquity, and in this four days' carnival of hell destroyed for ever the priceless treasures of art, gathered from the whole of the civilised world, with which through centuries of

[1] Agnes was sister of King Philippe Auguste, widow of Alexius II., and again of Andronicus; now married to Theodore Vranas.

wealth and prosperity her princes had dowered imperial Constantinople. If Villehardouin is discreetly silent here, if the testimony of Nicetas, whose own house had perished in the conflagration, as he fled with wife and children destitute from the ruins, be looked upon as partial evidence, the letters of Pope Innocent are eloquent in denunciation. The wild passions of the conquerors, he protests, spared neither age nor sex, nor did they fear to lay hands even upon those whose lives are dedicated to God. "It was not enough," he cried, "to strip the imperial treasures bare, to plunder high and low, but ye have torn the very ornaments from the altars and violated the shrines and relics of the Saints."

It was with the utmost difficulty that the chiefs of the army effected a collection of the booty for apportionment and distribution, although the death penalty had been proclaimed for the detention of loot. Numerous executions took place, and the Count of St. Paul was forced to hang one of his own knights in public as an example to the rest. There is some uncertainty, owing to the various figures given, as to the total value of the booty thus accumulated, but it was calculated by Count Baldwin as equal to the whole accumulated wealth of Western Europe. The debt to Venice was extinguished by an assignation from the portion of the Franks, and the remainder was divided according to the feudal scale, a foot soldier receiving one unit, a mounted sergeant two, and a knight four units as his share.[1]

Thus fell the imperial city. The magic of the old Roman name, institutions which still imposed on

[1] In the MS. of the Paris Library already referred to the chronicler complains that the Venetians carried off the bulk of the spoil to their ships, and says that the share of the Franks was only twenty marks to each knight, ten to each priest or mounted sergeant, and five to each sergeant on foot.

mankind, though the pillars upon which they rested, patriotism and public spirit, were rotten with decay, a marvellous organisation inherited from antiquity,—these had maintained the empire in ever contracting bounds long after all that was vital and sound had perished behind the hollow mask of magnificence. Blindly self-complacent and enervated with luxury, absorbed in ecclesiastical subtleties and impotent in the toils of a corrupt and effete officialism which rendered the Byzantine system as stationary as a Mongol despotism, her galvanised life had been unduly prolonged. She had survived the annihilating waves of barbarian migration, and held her gates secure by superior armament or opportune purchase. But the century of Norman invasion began the work of dissolution. The ignoble reign of Isaac Angelus II. had seen the inherent vices of Byzantine methods reach a climax of demoralisation. The army was neglected, the fleet had vanished from the seas, while the provinces, sucked dry to gratify the mania for building of a priest-ridden sovereign, or to supply the unbridled appetites of an effeminate court, rose in rebellion and separated themselves limb by limb from the parent trunk. And thus at last a band, numerically inconsiderable, of Franks and Flemings from the rude uncultured west, supported by the galleys of a mercantile republic, were enabled to breach the walls which for 900 years had guarded the throne of Constantine. But if her humiliation was in a measure deserved and inevitable, the grim story of human annals has recorded no more unpardonable outrage than the sack of the venerable city by a western army equipped with the emblem of the cross. The civilisation which they destroyed was far higher than that

in which the majority of the crusaders had been nurtured, and such culture as Europe still could boast, a culture still evidenced by the capacity of the Byzantine historians, was concentrated round the imperial throne. The bitter cry of Nicetas, an eye-witness of this unparalleled calamity, voices not inadequately the incalculable loss to mankind, entailed by the vandalism of the crusaders. There were doubtless many among them, and not least those that coveted the reversion of the treasures long accumulated there, who bitterly regretted this carnival of destruction, the responsibility for which must, however, rest on those who, for their own selfish purposes, diverted to such disastrous ends an impulse which had its origin in a chivalrous and disinterested enthusiasm.

CHAPTER II

THE PROLOGUE—(*continued*)

THE PARTITION OF THE EMPIRE

THE selection of an Emperor from among the rival leaders of the crusade presented a difficult problem for immediate solution. The result must be ascribed to the skilful diplomacy of Dandolo, for there can be little doubt that Nicetas is right in assigning a preponderating influence in the final settlement to the far-sighted Doge, who had succeeded in making the whole enterprise subservient to the interests of Venice. It was essential that no time should be lost in coming to a decision. The vast territories of the empire were still to be conquered, and there was manifest danger of papal intervention in the settlement of the east, and of the imposition of a clerical candidate who would not be acceptable to the republic. Three individuals stood out prominent in the eyes of the host—the veteran Dandolo himself, the master-mind of the undertaking and avowedly the hero of the campaign; Bonifazio of Montferrat, who as commander of the land forces had undeniable claims, and bore a name which commanded respect among the eastern populations, who still remembered how his brother Conrad had dealt with the rebel Vranas during the reign of Isaac; finally, Baldwin of Flanders, one of the original promoters of the crusade, justly esteemed for

his character and virtues as the first among the Franks, a powerful prince in his own right and a descendant of Charlemagne. Venetian historians have asserted that the primary choice of the electors fell upon the Doge, who magnanimously renounced the burden of empire. Such a legend was doubtless flattering to Venetian pride, but the position of a feudal sovereign could manifestly not be held by the chief magistrate of a commercial republic, nor is it probable that the great barons would have accepted a merchant prince as their overlord. Villehardouin, who should have known, is silent on the question, and the stipulation of the preliminary convention, which freed the Doge from any obligation of fealty to the elected Emperor, seems to imply that his candidature was excluded. It is at any rate clear that when the election took place all other candidates had withdrawn in favour of Baldwin and Bonifazio.

After much negotiation and discussion the twelve electors met, six chosen from the Franks and six from the Venetians. A plea put forward by Bonifazio for six additional Lombard electors had been rejected, but it was agreed by way of compromise, inasmuch as the church party was rather supposed to favour the claims of the marquis, that all the electors should be ecclesiastics. It was further laid down that the unsuccessful candidate should receive as compensation all the territories of the empire on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus as well as the "Ille de Griesse."[1] In this compromise the hand of Dandolo is clear. Baldwin of Flanders was for obvious reasons the accepted candidate of Venice. Not only would the

[1] "Ille de Griesse," *i.e.* the Peloponnese. Some authorities have interpreted this as here meaning Crete, but, as will be seen later, Bonifazio already claimed Crete as having been promised him by Alexius IV.

exaltation of the powerful Ghibelline marquis to the throne of the east have been calculated to disturb the balance of power in Italy,[1] but in the new empire itself the selection of Bonifazio, connected as he was with the historic dynasty of the Comneni and about to marry the ex-Empress, Margaret of Hungary,[2] would have been welcomed by the Greeks, whose support might have enabled him to weld together the conquered provinces into a homogeneous dominion, far from subservient to the republic, which preferred a dependent ally and a guaranteed monopoly of the eastern markets. At the same time so influential a factor could not be alienated without prejudice to the cause, while his strong hand and powerful adherents were sorely needed for the work of conquest still to be completed. Dandolo could control a majority of the electors. It behoved him, therefore, to provide such compensation for the unsuccessful competitor as would insure his loyalty to the settlement.

The twelve electors were locked into a chapel in the palace of the Doge until such time as they should be all agreed. The minority appear to have given way to the majority, and the bishop of Soissons was enabled to proclaim to the assembled knights and barons an unanimous decision in favour of Baldwin, Count of Flanders and Hainault. However resentfully he may have assisted at the proclamation of his rival, Bonifazio dissembled his jealousy and himself carried the imperial crown at the coronation which took place in St. Sophia on the 16th May 1204.

[1] Gibbon dissents: "Nor can I believe that Venice, the mistress of the sea, could be seriously apprehensive of a petty lord at the foot of the Alps."

[2] Daughter of King Bela III. Upon her marriage with Bonifazio she abjured the Greek rite and returned to the Latin Church. (*Letters Inn. III.*, viii. 134.)

Letters notifying the new Emperor's accession were at once despatched to all the reigning houses of Europe and to the Pope, who was invited to proceed to Constantinople and preside over a council for cementing the union of the churches. But long before the messengers to the Vatican could have reached their destination, the Venetians, interpreting a clause in the preliminary convention to their own advantage, had taken possession of St. Sophia in spite of the protests of the Frankish clergy, and appointed thirteen canons from among their own priests, who elected a Catholic Patriarch in the person of Tommaso Morosini. The politic Innocent annulled these uncanonical proceedings, and then of his own authority invested Morosini, who within the space of a few days became deacon, priest, and bishop, with the vacant Patriarchate. He conferred exceptional powers upon him, but made it clear that these powers were delegated by the papal authority. The Venetians were dissatisfied with the deference paid to the Pope by the new Patriarch; the Franks were dissatisfied with an appointment which they ascribed to the diplomacy of their rivals; while the Greeks, according to Nicetas, were shocked at the selection of the obese and clean-shaven Italian, whose dress and appearance were abhorrent to the prejudices of eastern tradition. Nevertheless a new cardinal legate, sent to replace Peter of Capua, succeeded in reconciling the Franks to Morosini, who proved himself more zealous as a churchman than as a Venetian.[1] The second highest ecclesiastical office in the imperial city

[1] The Venetians clung with great tenacity to their title to the Patriarchate. After the restoration of the Greek empire the canons of St. Sophia withdrew to Venice, where they maintained the traditional conflict with Rome. The titular Patriarch for a time took up his residence in Eubœa.

was assigned as their reward to the Pisans, who were confirmed by Baldwin in their ancient commercial privileges.[1]

If the election of an Emperor had jeopardised the union of the conquerors, the partition of the rich territories acquired by the fall of the empire still further alienated the rival leaders. By the preliminary compact the Emperor was to receive a quarter of the whole area as his domain, the remainder being divided between the Franks and the Venetians, while by subsequent negotiation all the provinces in Asia were assigned to the Marquis of Montferrat as the unsuccessful candidate for the throne. Bonifazio, who in virtue of his military command held himself entitled to all that portion which fell to the share of the crusaders, as distinct from the portions of the Emperor and the republic, now requested to be allowed to exchange the regions allotted him in Asia Minor for the kingdom of Thessalonica. The area thus described, which extended roughly from Mount Hæmus to Thermopylæ, appeared to offer a more promising sphere of interest after his marriage with Margaret of Hungary, both because it afforded him in King Andreas a prospective ally for a neighbour, and because many of the Greeks reposed their future hopes in his stepson Manuel Comnenus, the child of Isaac's later years. To this proposal the Emperor, anxious not to break with the powerful Marquis, reluctantly consented.

Much of the act of partition is scarcely intelligible to-day; the names are distorted and in a great measure unrecognisable; and certain districts are omitted from

[1] The selection of a prior from among the Pisans is recorded in a letter of the bishop of Soissons. (Ronciani, *apud* Buchon, *Nouvelles Recherches.*)

mention altogether.[1] It assigned to the Emperor as his domain, in addition to Constantinople, the Thracian territories immediately surrounding the city, extending to Agathopolis on the Bulgarian frontier to the north, and to Tzurulon and Selymbria on the south. To his share also fell a large number of the more important islands, some of which were subsequently abandoned to Venice, and finally the Greek provinces in Asia Minor, released by the exchange with Bonifazio, extending to the limits of the Seljuk kingdom of Iconium. The imperial domain was distributed in fiefs among the greater barons, French and Flemish, in Baldwin's own direct following. He assigned Adramyttium to his brother Henry, and the Duchy of Nicæa to Count Louis of Blois. The order of St. John also acquired fiefs in the neighbourhood of Pergamon. But the Frankish occupation never really became effective in Asia, where the spirit of the Greeks rallied under the auspices of Theodore Lascaris, and opposed a vigorous resistance to all attempts at invasion. The great offices of the empire were chiefly distributed among his Flemish followers, but Geoffrey Villehardouin, whose influence was justly great with all parties in camp, was appointed marshal of Romania.

The areas comprised in the fourth and the eighth part assigned to Venice dovetailed into the imperial domain and the territory of the crusaders in many places. Her title included the city of Adrianople, with a strip of territory extending to the Propontis and a coast-line from Heraclea to Ægospotami in the Chersonnesus; Ætolia, Acarnania, and Albania, with all the ports on the west; the provinces of Laconia and

[1] The treaty of partition will be found in the Venetian chronicle of Andrea Dandolo, p. 326. (Muratori).

Calavryta, and the havens of Modon and Patras in the Peloponnese; the islands of Corfu, Zante, and Cephalonia; the Cyclades, Salamis, Ægina; and in Eubœa, Oreos and Carystos. Crete was to fall into her sphere of acquisition by private arrangement. The extensive island dominion allotted to Venice was far greater than the republic was at first competent to take up, and the subjugation of Crete was destined to cause her considerable effort. Corfu she acquired after a hard struggle, but again relinquished to the Despot of Epirus, while Eubœa, to which she did not at first urge hér claim, was before long placed under her temporary overlordship by Ravano dalle Carceri, the conqueror of the island. But many years were to elapse before her supremacy there became effective. The other Ægean islands were placed at the disposal of whatever adventurous Venetians were prepared to conquer and occupy them. Availing himself of this liberty of action, a nephew of the illustrious Dandolo, Marco Sanudo, who had distinguished himself in the crusade, collected adherents and, sailing with eight galleys in 1206, took possession of Naxos and sixteen other islands after a sharp struggle with Genoese buccaneers. Once safely established in Naxos, where he built a palace and a Latin cathedral, he repudiated the tie of feudal subjection to Venice, and even attempted to make himself master of Crete. He was defeated by the Venetians, but suffered to remain in enjoyment of his island sovereignty. Sanudo's followers[1] only did homage to the

[1] Marino Dandolo obtained Andros; Giovanni Quirini, Astypalæa; Jacopo Barozzi, the Santorin group; Leonardo Foscolo, Anaphe; the brothers Andrea and Geronimo Ghisi, the islands of Tinos, Myconos, Scyros, Sciathos, and Scopelos, adding later to their possessions in conjunction with Domenico and Pietro Giustiniani, Ceos, and Seriphos; Navigagioso acquired Lemnos, originally in the imperial domain, obtaining recognition of his title at the

"Duke of Naxos," who at the parliament of Ravenika acknowledged the Emperor Henry as his overlord, and received full recognition of his title.

The remaining territories of the empire, comprising Macedonia, Thessaly, and central Greece, fell to Bonifazio and his partisans in the army, Lombards, Burgundians, and Germans, who were constantly loyal to the Franconian house of Montferrat. No direct mention is made of the Peloponnese in the act of partition, except as regards the provinces and harbours specially assigned to Venice. It had, however, been laid down that the unsuccessful candidate at the imperial election was to have the "Ille de Griesse," and the feudatories of Bonifazio, when they eventually took possession of the Morea, occupied certain districts there which the republic was entitled to claim. The disunion which had prevailed among the various elements of the old Byzantine empire facilitated the conquest of the European provinces, and Greece was easily reduced to subjection by Bonifazio when once he had established himself in Thessalonica. He did not, however, accomplish this without a violent dispute with the Emperor, which threatened to produce actual hostilities between the rival princes.

In the period of inaction ensuing on the taking of the city, consumed in the division of the spoil and the preliminaries of the imperial election, the Greeks had to some extent recovered from their panic. Alexius III. had collected a considerable number of adherents at Messinople, while Murzuphlus, now married to the

parliament of Ravenika, and other Venetians established themselves in Cerigo and Cerigotto. Patmos was left as a holy island in possession of its anchorites. The abbot Benedict of Peterborough who, in his life of Richard I., gives an itinerary of Romania, says that many of the islands were in those days uninhabited from fear of pirates. (Hearne, Oxon. 1735, vol. ii. p. 683).

Princess Eudoxia, dominated the neighbourhood of Constantinople as *de facto* Emperor. Baldwin and his brother took the field against him, leaving the Doge and Bonifazio to protect the capital. Thereupon Murzuphlus, resigning all claims to the imperial title, withdrew in the direction of Messinople, announcing his abject submission to Alexius, and praying for the ratification of his marriage. Alexius replied with fair words, and affected to recognise him as his son-in-law, but on his arrival he treacherously caused him to be blinded and expelled from the city, while the wretched Eudoxia, cursing her unnatural parent, followed the husband she had been forced to wed into exile. It was not long before he fell into the hands of the Franks, who tried him at Constantinople for the murder of their former ally Alexius IV. He was found guilty and executed with the utmost barbarity, being flung from the top of the column of Arcadius, a monument resembling that of Trajan at Rome, on to the marble pavement of the Forum of Taurus.

On the approach of Baldwin, Alexius fled in the direction of Thessalonica, whither the Emperor pursued him. The suspicions of Bonifazio were now aroused, and the insinuations of the Greeks, who hoped for a possible restoration of the dynasty of the Comneni in the person of his stepson, encouraged him to protest against the supposed menace to the independence of his kingdom. He haughtily summoned the Emperor to leave the conquest of Thessalonica to himself, and withdraw from its dependencies forthwith. Baldwin no less haughtily refused to comply, whereupon the Marquis with his Lombard, German, and Burgundian adherents seized Didymoteichon, and advanced against Adrianople, accepting homage from the Thracian cities. Baldwin

meanwhile entered Thessalonica victorious, and having accomplished his object, once more marched northwards. Bonifazio lay encamped before Adrianople, which was held on behalf of the Emperor by his brother Eustace of Saarbrück. The situation was critical, and Villehardouin's diplomacy with difficulty effected a reconciliation. Accompanied by Manasses de Lille, the Venetian Marco Sanudo, and the Veronese Ravano dalle Carceri, he sought out the Marquis in his camp and persuaded him to refer his grievances to the arbitration of Dandolo, Count Louis of Blois, and Conon de Bethune. At the same time the two Italians, entrusted with a secret negotiation by the Doge, arranged for a convention under which Bonifazio transferred his allegiance to the republic.[1] Asserting an anterior claim to Thessalonica, as having been bestowed on his brother by the Emperor Manuel,[2] and claiming Crete as a personal grant to himself from the Emperor Alexius IV., he now ceded these to Venice in return for the sum of 1000 silver marks, together with so much land on this side of the Bosphorus out of the Venetian sphere (*i.e.* in Epirus) as would bring him in an annual revenue of 10,000 gold hyperpers.[3] The Marquis was eager to relieve himself from the obligation of doing homage to Baldwin, and the renunciation appeared to guarantee him the support of the predominant partner in future developments, as well as a sphere of activity on the Adriatic nearer his Lombard principality. The terms of the convention were, however, partially annulled by

[1] See Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, Pt. I. p. 512.

[2] The title of Cæsar was bestowed on Riniero di Montferrat at the time of his marriage with Maria Comnena. There would not seem to be any other justification for the claim here put forward.

[3] The gold coinage of Byzantium: the name is derived from the process of refinement by fire.

subsequent arrangements. Among the names of seven witnesses to this act appear those of Peccoraro and Giberto of Verona, who were shortly afterwards to divide with Ravano the conquered island of Eubœa.

It was no easy matter to bring the angry Emperor to reason. Eventually, however, he also agreed to the proposed court of arbitration, which pronounced in favour of Bonifazio, who was confirmed in the title to his kingdom of Thessalonica, and with it to territories embracing practically the whole of the Greek mainland. The fortress of Didymoteichon was entrusted to Villehardouin to hold as a pledge until he had taken possession of these territories. Henceforth the fortunes of Greece are practically severed from those of the empire, and as it is rather with Greece in the more restricted sense that the subsequent chapters are concerned, it will not be necessary here to follow the vain attempts of the crusaders to reduce the Asiatic provinces to subjection, nor to trace the rise of the neo-Byzantine kingdoms of Nicæa and Trebizond, and the growth of the Seljuk power at Iconium. It remains briefly to outline the story of the short-lived Frankish empire, and of the still shorter-lived Frankish kingdom of Thessalonica.

The reign of Baldwin was brief and disastrous. His Countess, Marie of Champagne, who had left her two infant daughters at home and followed her husband to the east, was waiting at Acre to join him. Immediately after his election Baldwin sent galleys to escort the Empress to her new throne, but after a lingering illness she breathed her last in the Holy Land, and the fleet which sailed with the good news to Acre only brought back to the disconsolate prince the stone sarcophagus, which he followed to the Cathedral of

St. Sophia. Little leisure was left him for mourning. The dispute with Bonifazio threatened to involve the new empire in civil war before the conquest of the country was effected. No sooner had this cloud disappeared from the horizon, with the southward march of the Marquis through Macedonia into Greece, than the Greeks in Adrianople and Didymoteichon rose, drove out the Frankish and Venetian garrisons, and offered the imperial crown to Joannisa, Prince of Bulgaria and Wallachia, who, summoning his wild Tartar allies, the Comans of Scythia, hastened to support the Greeks.[1]

The position became rapidly critical. Fortress after fortress fell into the hands of the Bulgarians and their savage mercenaries. All who were capable of bearing arms were summoned to the standards, and the troops which had crossed into Asia with Henry of Flanders were recalled in haste. Without waiting for their return, Baldwin, the most chivalrous of princes and loyal of friends, realising that Renier de Tritt was isolated in Philippopolis, went out to meet the invaders, and laid siege to Adrianople with such scanty forces as were available. The Parthian tactics of the light Coman horsemen proved fatal to the Frankish chivalry, so formidable as long as their iron ranks remained unbroken. The Scythian mode of warfare was to provoke pursuit by a semblance of flight, and then to return in overwhelming numbers, and fall on broken groups of pursuers with a shower of deadly javelins. Count Louis of Blois, who had, in defiance of orders, followed a flying enemy over a space of two leagues, fell wounded and unhorsed. The Emperor hurried to his assistance, but the onslaught of his knights was broken by the

[1] Bulgarians. See App. I. note 4.

terrible javelin showers, and many turned and fled. Baldwin himself long maintained the doubtful battle, and fought as gallantly as ever did knight hard pressed, but disaster overtook him. Count Louis perished with 300 more, and the Emperor was overpowered, wounded, and taken alive.

With difficulty Dandolo and Villehardouin, who had taken no part in this attack, rallied the demoralised army, and retreated by night marches, carrying the wounded with them. By good fortune they fell in with Pierre de Bracieux and Payen d'Orléans, hastening with 100 knights and 140 sergeants to join the Emperor before Adrianople. This welcome reinforcement constituted the rearguard until they arrived, closely pursued by Joannisa, at the strong city of Rhedestos, within whose walls they took refuge. Henry of Flanders also, hurrying back from Asia, had learned the fatal tidings, and joined the Doge at Rhedestos, where, with the exception of Bonifazio and his following, the whole of the crusading army now assembled. Henry was proclaimed regent in his brother's absence, and returned to Constantinople, leaving a garrison of Venetians at Rhedestos, and another of Franks at Selymbria. These two strong places, the capital, and Philippopolis, where Renier de Tritt still held out in desperate straits, were all that remained to the Frankish empire on the European side of the Bosphorus, while in Asia Lascaris had followed on the heels of the retreating army, and there also all seemed lost. In such dire case the regent despatched envoys to Rome, to France, to Flanders, and other countries of the west to crave for assistance in maintaining the Frankish empire.

A fresh misfortune followed. The venerable Dan-

dolo, the master-mind and inspiration of this strange adventure, under whose controlling genius feudal Frank and republican Venetian had fought together in a common cause, worn out by the fatigues of this disastrous campaign, fell sick and died, after a brief illness, on the 1st of June 1205. If we must reject as mythical the testimony of certain biographers as to the phenomenal longevity of the glorious veteran,[1] even the most moderate estimate formed of the age at which death overtook him in the field implies in his case a prolongation of physical and intellectual powers beyond the common lot of man. Raised to the supreme authority in Venice in 1196, at what might well have seemed the close of life, he combined the boldness of youth in conception with the wariness of long experience in the accomplishment of his design. What none had dared to contemplate, he not only planned but himself carried into practical execution, in spite of the double disability of years and blindness. His record is unparalleled in history. When time and death were already calling, he buckled on once more the armour of his youth, and dominating by his transcendent personality the councils of his allies, altered the face of Europe, and converted a mercantile republic into a great world-power by annexing more than a third of the empire. The greatest of Doges was appropriately laid to rest in the vestibule of St. Sophia, where his sarcophagus remained until destroyed by the Turks in 1453.

With the approach of summer, Joannisa evacuated the provinces he had overrun, and threatened the kingdom of Thessalonica. A cloud of uncertainty hangs over the fate of the unhappy Baldwin. The Pope

[1] He would, by Sanudo's reckoning, have completed his ninety-seventh year.

demanded his release from Joannisa, who replied that the Emperor had already died in prison. Whether he succumbed to his wounds, or was barbarously murdered by the savage Bulgarian Attila, as Nicetas asserts, remains a mystery.[1] Many years afterwards an impostor arose in Europe, who, with a plausible tale of long captivity and ultimate escape, succeeded in convincing many that he was indeed the vanished prince. He was, however, eventually identified as one Bertrand de Rayns and ignominiously executed at Lille.

After his reconciliation with the Emperor, Bonifazio had occupied Thessalonica. Then he marched southwards, accompanied by his stepson Manuel, and invested his principal followers, who were to perform homage to him personally for their respective possessions, with the baronial fiefs which had fallen to the share of the army. He entered Thessaly, or Great Vlachia as it was then called, through the Vale of Tempe, encountering little opposition. Velestino, the ancient Pheræ, the land of King Admetus, was bestowed upon Berthold of Katzenellenbogen, Roland of Pisa became lord of Platamona, and the Thessalian plain was divided between two brothers from Canossa. An abortive effort at resistance, made by the fugitive Alexius III., who had allied himself with Leon Sguros, the powerful archon of Nauplia, was crushed. The crown regalia found in his camp were despatched to the Emperor at Constantinople, while the usurper himself was captured and banished to Sicily. On his way there, however, he managed once more to escape by bribing the captain of the Genoese galley on which he

[1] Albericus Monachus states (1205) that, while Baldwin was in prison, the wife of Joannisa offered to secure his freedom if he would wed her and make her Empress. On his indignant refusal she told her husband that he had tempted her with such a promise to connive at his escape.

sailed, and made his way to Asia Minor, where his restless spirit for intrigue led him to associate himself with the Turks against his own son-in-law Lascaris, as whose prisoner he miserably ended his days. Bonifazio continued his successful progress southwards from Lamia to Thermopylæ, where the archon Leon Sguros had prepared to contest his passage.

The title of archon appears for the first time in the Peloponnese in the ninth century. The archons were the chiefs of certain privileged families forming a kind of hereditary aristocracy, who represented public and local interests, which they upheld against the central government. The peninsula in the latter days of Alexius III. had fallen into a state of anarchy, and the archon of Nauplia had risen to importance and semi-independence. Profiting by the general confusion, his son and successor, Leon Sguros, had seized Argos, and established a kind of overlordship, which was recognised by the other archons of the Morea. Success widened the scope of his ambition, and he conceived the idea of uniting the Hellenes and breaking free from the empire. Notorious even in that age for cruelty and unscrupulousness, he had possessed himself by treachery of the impregnable citadel of Corinth, and thence dominated the whole peninsula. The population of Athens, however, led by the heroic bishop, Michael Acominatos, brother of the historian Nicetas, withdrew into the Acropolis, and saw their city burned and their lands wasted with stoic composure, while issuing forth from time to time they successfully raided the invader's camp. Sguros renounced the hopeless attempt to storm the fortress, and marched northwards to Thebes, which surrendered without resistance. Meanwhile the empire had fallen. Advancing into Thessaly, he fell in with the fugitive

Alexius III. who, making a virtue of necessity, confirmed his former rebellious subject as ruler over the Morea and Continental Greece, the price of an alliance which he cemented by bestowing on him the hand of the often widowed Eudoxia in marriage. After the discomfiture of Alexius, Sguros retired before the advance of Bonifazio, and had taken up a position in the pass of Thermopylæ to dispute the gate of Hellas to the Franks. But his ill-disciplined bands did not await the onslaught of the victorious crusaders. His excesses and exactions in the hour of success had rendered him obnoxious throughout the districts he had overrun, and his retreating forces hurried demoralised through an unfriendly country back to the secure shelter of Corinth.

Bonifazio, on the other hand, was hailed as a deliverer by the long-suffering Hellenic population. Guido Pallavicini fortified himself at Bodonitza in Locris as warden of the marches of Thessaly. The margraves' castle, built within the girdling polygonal wall of an ancient citadel, still looks over the Gulf of Lamia, to Mount Othrys on the further side, commanding the southern entrance to the pass of Thermopylæ. The family of St. Omer received fiefs in Doris, and Thomas de Stromoncourt became lord of Salona, the ancient Amphissa under the shadow of Parnassus. Jacques d'Avesnes crossed over to Eubœa, constructed a strong castle at Chalcis, and received the submission of the island, which was divided into three baronies bestowed upon Ravano dalle Carceri, Peccoraro di Peccorari, and Giberto of Verona, who were known as *Terzieri*, or Triarchs.[1] Before many

[1] Jacques d'Avesnes, the original conqueror of Eubœa, does not seem to have exercised any feudal rights in the island. A letter of Innocent III. speaks of him as dead in 1211, after his return to Flanders. Mr. John Bury

years had passed Ravano dalle Carceri became sole master of the island, which he placed under the protection of Venice. The Triarchies were, however, restored under the auspices of Venice on his death in 1216. Athens surrendered peacefully to the Marquis, and was by him bestowed together with Thebes upon the Burgundian, Othon de la Roche-sur-Ougnon.

Bonifazio now marched to Nauplia, while Jacques d'Avesnes laid siege to Corinth, the population of which retired into the famous rock citadel, supplied with perennial water from the mysterious source of Pirene. Thence they made several successful sorties, in one of which Jacques d'Avesnes was severely wounded. The stout resistance here encountered eventually compelled the Franks to build a castle on the rocky ridge of St. Basilios to the south, cutting the communications by land between Corinth and Nauplia. This fortress, which they named Montesquiou,[1] still stands conspicuous, if somewhat overshadowed by the majestic stronghold of Acrocorinth. It was while the Marquis was besieging Nauplia that Geoffrey Villehardouin the younger came in from his adventurous ride across the Morea, and proposed to his friend and liege Guillaume de Champlitte, with Bonifazio's consent, to carve out a principality with their good swords in the peninsula.

Meanwhile a new and hostile power had arisen in

in his study of the Lombards and Venetians in Eubœa, published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, suggests the name of Triarch as the most appropriate rendering of *Terziero*.

[1] According to the Chronicle of Morea, this fortress was built by William Villehardouin and named Mont Escovée. But the chronicle erroneously ascribes to the reign of William, in this passage, events which took place in the reign of Geoffrey about 1210. We know from Henri de Valenciennes that the latter was besieging Corinth when he went to the parliament of Ravenika. It is probable, therefore, that the fortress was built by his orders, if not already earlier by Bonifazio.

the west. Michael Angelus Comnenus was a natural son of Johannes Comnenus, who, as cousin to the Emperors, retained the government of Epirus and Thessaly throughout the reigns of Isaac II. and Alexius III. On the fall of the empire he had attached himself to the Marquis of Montferrat, believing, as did many of the Greeks, that he contemplated the restoration of his stepson Manuel to the Byzantine throne. Bonifazio, hoping perhaps in the scramble for territory to bring under the influence of his kingdom of Thessalonica some of the western provinces which, in the partition, had been assigned to Venice, had sanctioned his marching with a band of adherents into Ætolia and Acarnania, to the assistance of the Governor of the Theme of Nicopolis, against whom, in the general confusion, the Albanians had risen in revolt. On his arrival in Nicopolis, where the governor had just been assassinated, he married his widow, a lady of the rich and influential family of the Melisseni, and collecting supporters as he progressed, constituted himself a sovereign prince under the title of Despot of Epirus. He established his capital at Arta, and dominated a region which extended from Durazzo to Naupactos or Lepanto. The Greeks rallied round the rising star of the bastard Angelus, who rapidly consolidated his dominions and threatened the Thessalian feudatories. But four years later when the Emperor Henry, after Bonifazio's death, was setting in order the affairs of Thessalonica and reigned for a brief space supreme among the conflicting powers of the east, he deemed it prudent to negotiate. The able advocacy of Conon de Bethune, the imperial envoy, brought about a marriage between the Emperor's brother, Eustace of Saarbrück, and the Despot's

daughter, who received a third of his dominions for dowry, while Michael consented to do homage to Henry as his liegeman. His opportunist allegiance was short-lived, for in the following year he entered into negotiations with Venice, in whose portion of the empire the bulk of his dominions lay. All these lands, together with Corfu which he had also annexed, he agreed to hold from the republic, taking an oath of fealty and guaranteeing the privileges and immunities of her citizens.

Bonifazio, threatened by this new power on his flank and unable to reduce Nauplia or the citadel of Corinth, learning, moreover, that the Bulgarians were raiding the kingdom of Thessalonica and that the situation in Thrace had become more critical, abandoned the Peloponnese to his Burgundian adventurers and hastened north once more. Joannisa, deserted for the time by his Scythian allies, who had carried their booty home, had in fact taken possession of Bonifazio's frontier fortress of Serra, which had been surrendered on favourable terms after his valiant lieutenant Hugues de Colemi had fallen in battle. The terms of the capitulation were, however, disregarded by the treacherous Bulgarian, who put the whole of the garrison to the sword, and advanced on Thessalonica. The hasty return of the Marquis and the Lombards forced him to raise the siege, and he next turned his arms against Philippopolis, where the Greek inhabitants embraced his cause, and forced Renier de Tritt, who held the city for the regent, to withdraw to the neighbouring fortress of Stenimachos. Here, surrounded by large masses of the enemy, with a mere handful of knights and sergeants, with no other subsistence than the flesh of their horses and such scanty

provisions as they had hastily flung into the tower, he endured a memorable siege for upwards of a year.

Early in 1206 Joannisa, rejoined by his Coman cavalry, once more resumed aggressive tactics and marched against the Thracian cities. The frontier fortresses had been regarrisoned during the brief cessation of hostilities, but such scattered companies of men-at-arms were powerless to resist the hordes which followed the Bulgarian prince. In the neighbourhood of Rhusion a disaster befell the constable, Thierri of Dendermonde, and only ten of his hundred and twenty knights escaped from the battlefield to Rhedestos. Among the slain was Andrée d'Urboise, who had been the first to scale the walls of Constantinople. Once more fortress after fortress was abandoned to the savages who devastated the rich lands of Thrace, and carried off the inhabitants into slavery. In a moment of unpardonable panic the Venetian garrison of Rhedestos suddenly withdrew to the capital, which was crowded with fugitives, and before long Vizya and Selymbria alone held out, defended by Anceau de Toucy and Macaire de Sainte Ménéhould.

Then a reaction began. Driven to desperation by the savagery of the Bulgarians and their allies, the Greeks entered into negotiations with the Frankish leaders for united action against the common foe. With this object they addressed themselves to Theodorus Vranas, who, wedded to Agnes of France, the sister of King Philip,[1] had become more western than eastern in sentiment, and had from the first thrown in

[1] Agnes of France, as she is called in the chronicles, was daughter of Louis VII. In 1180 she was married at the age of eight to Alexius, son of the Emperor Manuel. When Alexius was strangled three years later by his cousin Andronicus, he married the child-empress, though himself upwards of seventy. After the murder of Andronicus during the reign of Isaac,

his lot with the crusaders. The fief of Apros which had been allotted to him was in the hands of the enemy, and he himself was now in the capital with the regent. As a result of these negotiations Adrianople and Didymoteichon were made over to Vranas, and the Greeks prepared to resist Joannisa who had laid siege to the latter fortress. Succour was urgently demanded from the capital, and Henry, with the scanty force still available, marched to the relief of the Greeks, while the papal legate proclaimed the war a holy one, and promised plenary indulgence to all who fell. Joannisa withdrew before the menace of this little band of veterans, which included nearly all who were left in the empire of the old heroes of the crusade. Adrianople received them with open arms, and the flying Joannisa was pursued five days' march beyond its walls. Meanwhile a flying column, advancing rapidly to Stenimachos, relieved the starving garrison of Renier de Tritt, who right joyfully rejoined his comrades in arms after a close siege of thirteen weary months.

From Renier de Tritt they for the first time obtained confirmation of Baldwin's death, and the parliament of barons decided to crown the regent Henry as his brother's successor. Leaving Vranas in command at Adrianople, he returned with the army to Constantinople, where the coronation took place on the 20th August 1206. He was twenty-nine years of age when he ascended the precarious throne which he so honourably held for ten years. No sooner had the army with-

Vranas became her paramour, but did not marry her lest she should lose her dowry. At the siege of Constantinople by the Franks, Vranas embraced their cause. The marriage was then regularised, and he became practically a Latin. From this marriage sprang one daughter, married to Narjaud de Toucy. His daughter married William Villehardouin.

drawn than Joannisa reappeared and succeeded in taking Didymoteichon, which he razed to the ground. Once again the Emperor took the field, and once more Joannisa retired before him, the crusaders recovering much of the loot and many captives. It was during this expedition that Othon de la Roche appeared in the camp as ambassador from Bonifazio, to offer the Emperor the hand of Agnes of Montferrat, his daughter by his first wife, and to announce the arrival of the Marquis in Thessalonica. This alliance, which was gladly accepted, promised to unite all the surviving chiefs of the crusade in a common cause, and the date of the marriage was fixed for the ensuing winter, when the campaigning season should be over. In the meantime, while the Marquis retook Serra and re-established order in his kingdom, the energetic Emperor, freed for the moment from the immediate menace of the Bulgarian invasion, resumed the war in Asia, where his captains were confronted by the rising star of Lascaris, between whom and Joannisa a good understanding existed. After his marriage with Agnes of Montferrat, in February 1207, he took the field in person and compelled Lascaris, who was now threatened by the Seljuk Turks on the southern borders of Nicæa, to agree to a suspension of hostilities for two years. He then returned to Europe and, after a short campaign in which he carried his arms into Bulgarian territory, met the Marquis at Kypsela, and made arrangements with him for joint action against the common foe. Bonifazio did homage to the Emperor as his liegeman, and was returning to Thessalonica by way of Messinople, when his rearguard was attacked by a Bulgarian ambush. As he rode back to their assistance a pitiful fate overtook the most chivalrous

of the crusaders. Mortally wounded by an arrow and abandoned in panic by most of his retainers, he was taken alive. His head was cut off and sent, a welcome present, to the Bulgarian king. With this disaster to the "best of barons and the most open-handed, the noblest of knights in all the world," the chronicle of his old friend and comrade-in-arms, Villehardouin, concludes, and Henri de Valenciennes takes up the tale.[1]

Joannisa, the irreconcilable enemy of the Franks, did not long survive him. On learning the good news of Bonifazio's death, he marched on Thessalonica and was murdered in his tent, at the instigation of his own wife, by his general Monastras. After his death several Bulgarian princelings claimed their independence, and the kingdom no longer possessed the unity which had made it formidable. His nephew Boris, who succeeded to the larger portion of his dominions, was crushingly defeated by the Emperor Henry in the following year. Esclas or Swatislas, his most influential rival, made peace with the Emperor, became his liegeman, and married his natural daughter, assuming the title of Despot. The winter of 1208 at length appeared to offer a good prospect of peace with external enemies, and the Emperor was free to turn his attention to the affairs of Thessalonica, where the attitude of the Lombard barons since the death of Bonifazio had given grounds for uneasiness.

The will of the Marquis had designated Demetrius, the infant son of his marriage with Margaret of Hungary, as his successor in Thessalonica under his mother's regency. William of Montferrat, his son by

[1] The marshal himself was still alive in 1212. The exact date and manner of his death are not known.

a former marriage, succeeded to the marquisate. The Lombard barons in Macedonia and Greece, however, realised that the tenure by which they held their new possessions was precarious, and that a strong man's government was still necessary to consolidate the kingdom, and secure the independence at which they aimed. The obligation to the Emperor which Bonifazio had finally accepted weighed lightly on these Italian nobles, who were more emancipated from feudal traditions than the Franks of the north and west. In Italy indeed the thirteenth century, which impressed the feudal method on the Byzantine dominions and especially on Greece, was to witness the triumph of the municipal system. They had invited William to come over and act as guardian for his step-brother, and when he showed little alacrity in complying with their request, constituted themselves a governing oligarchy under the direction of the constable Amedeo Buffa and Count Oberto Biandrate, whom they appointed bailie and guardian to the young prince. The spirit of independence thus displayed justified the apprehensions of the Flemings that both the rights of the infant Demetrius and the Emperor's claims to overlordship were endangered. By feudal usage the Marquis of Montferrat should have rendered homage for his step-brother within a prescribed term, and the parliament of barons at Constantinople maintained that in his absence the duty devolved upon the Lombard nobles to do homage in the infant's name, and so safeguard his rights and the Emperor's at once. Henry was therefore advised to proceed forthwith to Thessalonica and receive the homage due. In the meanwhile dissensions had broken out among the barons within the kingdom.

The Lombards rallied round Count Biandrate with the cry for independence; the Germans and the Burgundians, on the other hand, of whom the chief were Berthold of Katzenellenbogen and Othon de la Roche, strove to maintain the feudal bond with the empire. Dissension led on to open rupture, and the Lombards seized the city of Thebes and fortified themselves in the Cadmeia.

It was already late in the year when Henry set out with a small following for Thessalonica. The winter set in with unexampled severity, and instead of meeting with the hospitable entertainment due to him as an overlord visiting his vassals, the Emperor found the gates of castle and fortress closed against him by order of Count Biandrate, who denied him access to Thessalonica, whence all the partisans of the Flemings had been expelled. In vain the brave and eloquent Conon de Bethune, who proceeded on an ungrateful embassy, represented to the Lombards the desperate condition of the Emperor and his followers, lying exposed to the snowstorms in the open country, without provision or fodder for their horses; in vain he accused the Count of treason to his lord. Biandrate's only answer was to boldly proclaim the independence of the kingdom of Thessalonica and, as a preliminary condition before opening the gates, to demand the Emperor's recognition of a preposterous claim to all the lands between Dyrrachion and Megara, together with Corinth and the whole of the Peloponnese, and to overlordship over all the territories of Michael Angelus.

The improvidence of the Emperor in starting on an enterprise of considerable uncertainty so inadequately equipped, had made it impossible for him either to

withdraw with safety or to advance without accepting the humiliating conditions put forward by Biandrate. The clergy indeed were willing to absolve him from the obligations of any oath he might be driven to take under such compulsion, but he rather elected a subterfuge which relieved him from the temptation of perjury, and swore to observe the conditions imposed, provided they should be approved by the Queen-regent Margaret, an approval which Biandrate had full confidence he would be able to secure, and which Henry was equally convinced would not be forthcoming. A convention being duly signed, the Emperor was made welcome in Thessalonica. Four days later a parliament was held at which he was called upon by Biandrate to fulfil the stipulated convention. Henry, addressing himself to all the barons present individually, inquired of each of them whether they approved of the outrageous demands of Biandrate, with the result that only two or three had the courage to answer in the affirmative. Then, faithful to his word, he took counsel of the Queen-regent, who, freed from the terrorism which the bailie had exercised over her court, placed herself unreservedly in his hands, and revealed the plot which the barons had formed to disinherit the youthful son of Bonifazio. Thus the schemes of Biandrate were for the time frustrated, and the Emperor with his own hand knighted the infant Demetrius, and crowned him before the people. The bailie, however, who had taken the oath of fealty, and was allowed to remain in the position of governor to the young king, continued to intrigue in secret, and refused to deliver up to the Queen-regent the border fortresses which were in the hands of his camerilla. Biandrate was consequently held as a prisoner at

Thessalonica and Berthold of Katzenellenbogen temporarily appointed regent.[1]

So it came to an open rupture, the Emperor with his Flemings joining the Franks of Thessalonica in defence of the Queen against her rebellious Lombard barons who, under the constable Amedeo Buffa, were ignominiously defeated at the bridge of Larissa in Thessaly. Buffa then begged for a suspension of hostilities, and a parliament was summoned to meet in the interim in the valley of Ravenika, near Lamia, to which the Lombards and all the barons of the south were invited. Thither came Othon de la Roche and Geoffrey Villehardouin the younger, now bailie in Achaia for the absent Champlitte, who in 1208 had succeeded his brother in Burgundy. At this parliament he took the oath of fealty to the Emperor, and was created seneschal of Romania. Amedeo Buffa sought and obtained pardon, but Ravano, who had just offered the overlordship of Eubœa to Venice, Albertino of Canossa and others of the Italian party declined the summons and fortified themselves in the citadel of Thebes, to which Henry was compelled to lay siege. After an obstinate resistance, Thebes was surrendered and restored to Othon de la Roche. The Lombards did homage, and the liberation of Biandrate was made one of the conditions of peace. Not even then, however, did he trust himself in the camp at Thebes, but escaped to Eubœa, where he organised a plot for the assassination of the Emperor on his approaching visit to the island. The conspiracy was detected and Ravano protected his imperial guest, who once more pardoned the irreconcilable Lombard and sent him back to

[1] Berthold, after the return of Biandrate in 1216, made a pilgrimage to Acre, and thence returned home to Germany.

Thessalonica, where the loyal Berthold kept him under observation till he withdrew to the court of Montferrat, only to intrigue at a distance against his too generous foe. After his departure the last recalcitrant Lombards took the oath of fealty, and the Emperor's overlordship was finally established throughout the Greek provinces. In order to place these feudal obligations on a permanent basis, to regulate the relations between State and Church, and fix a bound to ecclesiastical encroachments, Henry assembled a second parliament at Ravenika in the spring of 1210.[1] It was about this time also that Conon de Bethune succeeded in obtaining from the Despot of Epirus recognition of the Emperor's suzerainty. The internal disorders in the Frankish state were thus all composed, and the parliament of Ravenika opened under the most favourable auspices.

The remaining years of Henry's strenuous life were spent in alternate peace and war with Lascaris in Asia, in preserving his frontiers from the raids of the Bulgarians, and in curbing the growing ambition of Theodore Angelus, who, on the assassination of Michael

[1] The general Act of the parliament of Ravenika regulating the relations of Church and State, which has come down to us, is dated in the year 1210, the thirteenth indiction, and it was ratified by the Pope in 1211. In it appear the signatures of Ravano, Albertino de Canossa, and other Lombards. Geoffrey Villehardouin the younger was not present, though the document is witnessed by his uncle the marshal. It has been generally assumed that this is the parliament described by Henri de Valenciennes, at which he records that Geoffrey Villehardouin was created seneschal of Romania. But it is evident that the parliament described in his continuation of Villehardouin's narrative must have taken place in the previous year, for he particularly states that, with the exception of the constable Buffa, the Lombard barons did not obey the summons. Consequently the first parliament came to nothing, and the Emperor pursued the rebels to Thebes, which he was compelled to besiege. The narrative of Henri de Valenciennes breaks off with the submission of Biandrate and the peace with Michael of Epirus, before the second parliament of Ravenika, which was in reality a prorogation of the first.

in 1214, succeeded his illegitimate brother as Despot of Epirus. In 1216 Biandrate returned from Italy to Thessalonica, and supported once more by the fickle Lombards, claimed the regency in the name of William of Montferrat. In response to Queen Margaret's appeal the Emperor hurried to her assistance, but arrived on the scene only to die with mysterious suddenness in the flower of his age. His death was not unnaturally ascribed to poison, and the previous attempt upon his life affords strong presumption of the complicity of Biandrate, an adventurer of the type with which the cities of the Romagna have made us familiar.

It was no wonder that the news of Henry's untimely death filled the Franks and their partisans with dismay. In this neglected period of history but scanty justice has been done to the memory of this heroic and magnanimous prince. His firm but just government, his religious toleration, and the sternness with which he rebuked the persecuting spirit of the Roman hierarchy and curbed the extravagance of ecclesiastical pretension had secured for him even the suffrages of the Greeks. His loyalty claimed the devotion of his friends and commanded the respect of his enemies. Worthily upholding the great name of Emperor in the east, he succeeded in retrieving the apparently hopeless disasters which had overwhelmed his unfortunate predecessor and, on the chaos to which he had succeeded, he based the foundations of an organised feudal state. No child had been born of his marriage with Agnes of Montferrat. His only surviving brother, Eustace of Saarbrück, was apparently not legitimate, as, in spite of his presence in Romania, his claims to the imperial throne were never advanced, and the daughters of Baldwin were still young children. Yolande of

Flanders, a sister of the Flemish princes, had married a rich and powerful French noble, Pierre de Courtenay, Count of Auxerre.[1] His father was of royal birth, and one of his daughters had already married Andreas of Hungary. The claims of his wife and his own powerful connections, as well as the support of Pope Honorius III., who had succeeded to the tiara of Innocent, secured for him the approval of the electors. In the meantime the experienced Conon de Bethune was called upon by the barons to administer the affairs of the empire, which he governed with wisdom and moderation during the interregnum.

Pierre de Courtenay, however, was not destined to reach his capital. He pledged a portion of his lands in Europe to provide funds for the equipment of his levies, and leaving his young sons behind at Namur, accompanied the Empress Yolande and his daughters Agnes and Marie to Rome, where he was crowned by Honorius. Thence he proceeded to Brindisi, where a fleet of Venetian galleys awaited him. The Empress, already far advanced in her pregnancy, took ship for Constantinople direct, while the Emperor landed at Durazzo, where it was his intention to enact the oath of fealty from the Despot Theodore Angelus. It is not improbable that he had contracted with Venice to regain for her that important harbour, in return for the use of the fleet. His intention was to march overland through Thessaly into Thrace. But treachery was innate in the blood of the Angeli. Theodore affected to receive him with every honour, and hastened to the imperial camp with professions of peace and friendship. But when

[1] Pierre de Courtenay was the grandson of Louis the Fat, whose seventh son Peter married the heiress of Rainaud de Courtenay, and adopted the name and titles of his wife.

the Emperor, with only a small following of knights, paid the Despot a visit of courtesy, the whole party were attacked and overpowered while sitting at meat. The loyal Eustace of Saarbrück here lost his life while defending his kinsman, and the papal legate, John Colonna, was made a prisoner together with the unfortunate Emperor, who ended his days in the Despot's dungeons.[1] Honorius at once called upon Venice to combine with the King of Hungary and the Prince of Achaia in organising a punitive expedition, but the wily Despot hastened to conciliate the Vatican with specious promises, and after the timely release of the legate in the following year this difficult project was suspended. The imperial prisoner was abandoned to his fate by the Pope who had so recently crowned him.

The Empress Yolande received the news of this disaster at the court of the Prince of Achaia, where, pausing on her eastward journey, she had just married her daughter Agnes to his eldest son and heir. She at once hurried to Constantinople to assume the regency, and soon afterwards gave birth to a son, who bore the name of the first Frankish Emperor, and was himself destined to be the last. A worthy member of that strong race which had given so many lives to the cause, the Empress, guided by the sage counsels of Conon de Bethune, governed with vigour and ability, and concluded a treaty with John Lascaris, which was confirmed by his marriage to her daughter Marie. Count Philip of Namur, the eldest son of Pierre de Courtenay, renounced the precarious throne of the east, which the

[1] As in the case of Baldwin, some uncertainty obscures the fate of the third Frankish Emperor also. The Chronicle of Auxerre, which places his death in 1219, thus implies that he was held for some time a prisoner in Epirus. Acropolita states that he died by the sword.

barons thereupon offered to his brother Robert, who, traversing Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria without mishap, was crowned Emperor by the Patriarch in March 1221. The unfortunate choice of a prince, who, in addition to his youth and inexperience, was vicious in temperament and deficient in personal courage, decided the fate of the Frankish empire, which was also accelerated by the death in the following year of Lascaris, whose union with Marie de Courtenay had seemed to ensure the prospect of a lasting peace. His only son by a former marriage was still an infant, and the reins of government in Nicæa were seized by his son-in-law Johannes Dukas Vatatzes, an ambitious and irreconcilable enemy of the Franks.

The Latin kingdom of Thessalonica was, however, the first of the new feudal states to be recovered by the Greeks. The boy king Demetrius, who could now no longer rely upon the chivalrous arm of the Emperor Henry to defend his inheritance, had gone to Italy to crave for support from home against the encroachments of the Despot Theodore of Epirus, whose ambition now contemplated the extension of his dominions from sea to sea. Advancing during his absence, Theodore entered his capital almost without opposition, and proclaimed himself Emperor of Thessalonica in 1222. Emboldened by this success, he now aimed at the annexation of Philippopolis and Adrianople. But the population of the latter city had once more risen against the Franks, and in answer to their appeal to Vatatzes for assistance, troops from Nicæa had actually crossed the Hellespont without opposition from the impotent Emperor, and entered the fortress. The advance of Theodore's army on Adrianople, therefore, now brought him into conflict with the Asiatic empire,

and his career of victory was further checked by the appearance in Epirus of William of Montferrat, who, accompanied by Demetrius, had crossed over from Brindisi with a powerful army to reconquer his brother's inheritance. He actually reached the plains of Thessaly, but there succumbed either to the fever of the country or the poison of the Angeli. With his death the force broke up, and Demetrius, unable to rally the vassals of Montferrat, retired to Italy where he also died in the following year. No children had been born of the boy King's early marriage with a sister of the Lord of Athens, and by his will the empty title to the kingdom of Thessalonica devolved upon the Emperor Frederick II., who renounced it in favour of the reigning Marquis of Montferrat. Some sixty years later the Marquis William V. ceded the title with the hand of his daughter to the Greek Emperor Andronicus II. The Frankish Emperors, however, as overlords upheld their claim to the titular sovereignty, and many aspirants in later years contended for this shadow of a name.

Theodore Angelus maintained himself in his new dignity until in the year 1230 he was defeated, taken prisoner, and blinded by the Bulgarian Johannes Asan. His brother Manuel succeeded, but during his reign Epirus was once more severed from Thessalonica. A son of the first bastard Angelus, named like his father Michael, emerged from concealment in the Peloponnese whither his mother had fled with him on his father's assassination, and made himself master of the old despotate. After the expulsion of Manuel by the partisans of the blind Theodore, who was released in 1240, Thessalonica declined to the position of a dependency of the empire of Nicæa, and the imperial

title was dropped in favour of the less pretentious name of Despot. Four years later the short-lived kingdom, which had been acquired by the Marquis of Montferrat, was finally absorbed by Vatatzes.

While on the European side the Greeks were fast recovering ground, the Franks were also deprived of their last foothold in Asia by the energetic and resourceful Vatatzes. Tempted by higher pay from their attachment to a tottering cause, western renegades entered his service, and their military reputation inspired his armies with new confidence. One last attempt made by Robert to recover the remnant of his Asiatic dominions ended in a disastrous defeat, in which Macaire de St. Ménéhould, almost the last of the great fighting stock which had dismembered the eastern empire, found his death. Everywhere the star of the Franks was waning, and the race of giants was extinct. The minting of the coinage, the manifest prerogative of sovereignty, had passed by convention to Venice,[1] whose Podesta had grown almost as powerful in Constantinople as the Emperor himself. It is even asserted by one historian that the republic had seriously considered the question of removing its seat of government from the lagoons to the Bosphorus. The degenerate descendants of the crusaders were occupied with pomps and pageantries, the lust of the eye which appears to be the fatal heritage of rulers in the imperial city. Robert, the unworthy successor of Baldwin and Henry, became involved in scandalous disputes with the knights of his court, and, impotent to maintain his dignity or authority, departed for Rome to lay his griefs before

[1] No coins have been found which can be ascribed to the Frankish Emperors of Constantinople.

the Pope. He died on his return journey in 1228 at the court of the second Villehardouin in Achaia.

His brother Baldwin II., who succeeded, was a boy of ten years old. Narjaud de Toucy, the last of the crusading heroes who bore the old-world title of Cæsar, governed in his name, but the precarious tenure of the Franks, and the prospects of a long minority, made some more permanent and authoritative arrangement desirable. The clergy and the barons were unanimous in inviting Gregory IX. to negotiate with the veteran John of Brienne, ex-King of Jerusalem, who at that time commanded the papal armies, and was fighting against the Saracen mercenaries of his son-in-law Frederick II., with a view to his elevation to the rank of Emperor-regent for life. A convention accordingly drawn up between the barons and John of Brienne provided for the marriage of his daughter Marie to Baldwin, who would be regarded as heir to the throne, and provided for suitably by the Emperor-regent until he reached the age of twenty; fiefs were to be assigned to the Emperor-regent's heirs who would do homage for them to Baldwin. Two years passed in preparations, and at length the ex-King of Jerusalem arrived with an army of 500 knights and 5000 sergeants to defend the tottering throne. He was already eighty years of age, but his vigour and his great reputation, together with his heroic stature and the martial aspect which impressed the enervated Byzantines, appeared to justify the choice. Hostilities were soon afterwards renewed with Vatatzes, who had negotiated with Johannes Asan for a simultaneous attack upon the empire from the east and west, and in 1236 a powerful Nicæan fleet threatened the capital, while Asan advanced against the city by land. Venice,

however, sent a fleet to assist the Emperor-regent, and Geoffrey II. of Achaia also furnished a powerful contingent. The Franks were victorious both by land and sea; the Bulgarians were routed and the fleet of Nicæa was destroyed. But the difficulty of meeting the growing expenditure entailed by the employment of mercenaries with the vanishing revenues of the empire, increased year by year, and Baldwin, accompanied by Conon de Bethune, set out for Europe to endeavour to collect subventions for the Catholic cause, which was further imperilled by the antagonism of Frederick II., who in his desperate struggle with the papacy had embraced the orthodox church, and given his natural daughter in marriage to Vatatzes. In March 1237 John of Brienne died and Baldwin was summoned to return. When, three years later, he re-entered his dominions it was with considerable reinforcements which the charities of Rome and St. Louis had enabled him to collect. For a brief moment the star of the Latins appeared once more in the ascendant with the victories of Venice at sea, and the concentration of a new army in the capital. But the inevitable end was only for a brief interval deferred. The Frankish empire had depended for existence on the prowess and the personal character of the first conquerors. Their sons had grown degenerate. The heroic Conon de Bethune had died in Venice while endeavouring to equip a new fleet for the east, and the Cæsar Narjaud de Toucy followed him in 1241.

During the suspension of hostilities Vatatzes, who felt that the throne of Constantinople was within his grasp, and could brook no rival to the purple, turned his arms against Thessalonica, which he first reduced to vassal-

age and finally absorbed. Once more the Emperor, with a treasury exhausted by the exactions of his army, appointed the son of Narjaud de Toucy his vicar and returned to Europe, pawning in his desperate straits the sacred relics of historic churches, which found a ready purchaser in St. Louis.[1] The empire was nearing the climax of demoralisation. The scanty provinces were hopelessly impoverished; the Latin clergy had despoiled their benefices and departed to their own countries with the plunder; whatever could be pledged was pledged, Venice acting as the ready broker; whatever could be removed was sold. But still the coffers were empty and the army clamoured for payment, while the Emperor wandered round the courts of Europe begging alms for the support of his vanishing throne. So hopeless had the situation become that the Venetians, who had anticipated the reversion of the Frankish empire, were endeavouring to negotiate with the lords of the islands and the barons of Morea for the maintenance of a garrison in Constantinople.

Meanwhile Vatatzes, who had finally annexed Thessalonica, was cultivating friendly relations with Genoa, the great maritime rival of Venice, who could now hold her own in eastern waters and was bent on wresting the monopoly of trade from her ancient antagonist. But his ambition to restore the Greeks to Byzantium was cut short by his death in 1254, and Theodore Lascaris II., who had for two-and-thirty years been set aside by his usurpation, at length succeeded to his father's throne. During the four years' reign of this infirm and inexperienced prince, Michael

[1] According to Matthew Paris he came to England for the second time in 1247.

Palæologus, a military adventurer of no mean ability, rose to power in Nicæa, and on his death usurped the throne, deposing and blinding his son, the young Emperor John Lascaris. He crossed into Europe to press on the war against Michael II. of Epirus, in which, as will be seen in a subsequent chapter, Theodore had become involved, and defeating the reiters of Manfred and the chivalry of the Prince of Morea, who were both supporting the cause of their father-in-law, he made Villehardouin his prisoner, and thus deprived the Frankish Emperor of his most powerful vassal. Early in 1261 he definitively signed a treaty of alliance with Genoa which pledged that republic to carry on war with Venice and her allies, a step which sealed the fate of the Frankish empire. In July of the same year his general, the Cæsar Alexius Melissenus Strategopoulus, at the head of a new expedition destined for Epirus, seized a favourable opportunity when the Venetian fleet with the best of the garrison had sailed away to Daphnusia, to divert his march, and entered Constantinople almost unopposed. The spiritless Baldwin, who had but lately concluded his last unprofitable mission to the west, attempting no defence, escaped ignominiously with the principal Latins on board the returning Venetian galleys to Eubœa and thence to Athens. While a number of his followers established themselves in the Morea, he became a wanderer once more, making his way to Italy and eventually to France, endeavouring to secure assistance for the reconquest of the empire he had lost by alienating its provinces to powerful princes, and conferring a fictitious sanction to the sounding titles which they accordingly assumed. Of better promise for the recovery of his crown was a treaty which in 1267 he

concluded with Charles of Anjou, who was then firmly established on the throne of Naples. In return for his promised assistance, Charles was invested with the overlordship of the principality of Achaia as well as of Epirus. He was to receive a third of all the territories recovered, and the reversion of the whole empire in the event of a failure of issue to Baldwin and his son Philip. But by that time Venice, after years of warfare in the archipelago, was ready to compound with the new dynasty in Constantinople, and hesitated to advance the ambition of the King of the Sicilies. Palæologus was glad to ensure peace by recognising her claims in Eubœa and her tributary islands, her possession of Crete, Coron, and Modon, and year by year the hopes of Baldwin melted away as he sank into insignificance as the pensioner of Charles at Naples, where he died in 1273. His son, Philip of Courtenay, to whom King Charles gave his daughter in marriage, succeeded to the empty honours of the imperial name. But he only survived his father ten years, and left no son. His daughter, who married Charles of Valois, son of Philippe le Hardi, inherited his title to the shadowy throne.

The Frankish empire of Romania had lasted fifty-seven years, when the Greeks regained the throne of Constantine. Depending solely on the prowess and prestige of a military caste, composed of heterogeneous and often antagonistic elements, with numbers hopelessly disproportionate to the enterprise in hand, it was from the first foredoomed to failure. Their temporary domination was sustained by no movement of western immigration, and the Franks in the east were always aliens in an alien land. A few years after the Greek restoration, there remained north of the marches of

Thessaly but little trace of this ephemerally successful attempt to impose the crude social system of feudal Europe and the domination of Rome on a far older civilisation, and a church of equal if not greater antiquity.

CHAPTER III

THE CONQUEST OF MOREA— GEOFFREY VILLEHARDOUIN I. AND GEOFFREY II.

WHEN in the spring months of the year 1204 the report of the fall of Constantinople and the sack of the imperial city by an army of Franks, Lombards, and Venetians, whose fleet had peacefully traversed the island sea a twelvemonth earlier, was passed from mouth to mouth round the startled shores of Asia, and the feluccas of Cyprus brought confirmation of the incredible rumour to the Syrian ports, a number of those crusaders who had made their way independently to the Holy Land, or had abandoned the expedition when the counsels of Dandolo prevailed, seized the welcome opportunity of exchanging an unprofitable inactivity for a life of promising adventure, and took ship without delay to reinforce their former comrades. Among them was Geoffrey Villehardouin the younger, who, as soon as the tremendous news reached Syria, started with a small band of followers to join his uncle, the marshal of Romania, while there was still time to secure a share in the spoils of the empire. Boisterous weather drove him out of his course, and he with difficulty brought his disabled ship or ships to harbour at Modon, the south-westerly point of the Peloponnese. Before the necessary repairs could be effected winter was approaching, and he was once

more delayed by the stormy seas which made the southern capes so formidable to early navigators. So it fell out that an unexpected opportunity presented itself.

The "Ile de Griesse" had passed through many vicissitudes since the palmy days of the Roman provincial system. It would be beyond the scope of the present work to investigate the obscure history of the barbarian invasions and the successive pestilences which in dark ages decimated the native population. The story is one of rapid decline. The policy of the eastern Emperors discouraged municipal development, and the middle or burgher class disappeared early. Landed estate, notwithstanding the efforts of Byzantium to preserve the tradition of a free yeomanry, accumulated in the hands of the privileged few. Towns dwindled to villages, and with a constantly decreasing population public spirit and local patriotism ceased to exist. Roads, bridges, and aqueducts were neglected and fell into decay. Communications in the mountainous land became difficult, and vast tracts of country fell out of cultivation. The bands of invaders which periodically overran the eastern empire—Huns, Avars, and Bulgarians—themselves often numerically inconsiderable, were accompanied by Slavonic auxiliaries or dependents, and many regions devastated by the passage of the raiders were colonised and repeopled by the Slavs who followed in their train. They appear to have also at various times migrated peacefully into the peninsula, and to have occupied extensive areas which had ceased to be inhabited or utilised for want of available labour. Thus they were alternately the oppressors or the vassals of the original inhabitants, who remained sheltered in the walled cities of the

coast, until by the commencement of the eighth century they had occupied a considerable portion of the country without any serious opposition. In the year 747 a great pestilence depopulated the east. The Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus asserts that at this period the inhabitants of the country districts in Greece and the Peloponnese became entirely Slavonic.[1] The towns, however, probably continued to shelter their former population, and large drafts were made upon them to restore the gaps which the ravages of the plague had occasioned at Constantinople. The statement of the imperial authority is certainly too comprehensive, for in the year 783 the Slavs of Greece, who had assumed independence, were easily reduced by an army despatched by the Empress Irene, herself an Athenian by birth. Attempts on the part of these colonists to regain ascendency were not unfrequent, and in 807 they laid siege to Patras. The Greeks of the fortress were, however, able to defeat them, without waiting for Byzantine assistance, and, though victory was ascribed to the intervention of St. Andrew, it seems obvious that the besiegers were not really so formidable as the pride of patriotic historians represented them to be. A further rebellion was suppressed by the Empress Theodora, during the minority of Michael III. Her army reduced and imposed tribute upon the Ezerites, who lived in the valley of the Eurotas, as well as on the hitherto independent tribes of the Melings, who occupied the whole range of Taygetus, with the exception perhaps of the rocky promontory of Maina. Throughout the ninth century the Greek race revived both numerically and socially, but the coast-lands of Elis were still apparently at

[1] Ἐσθλαβώθη δὲ πᾶσα ἡ χώρα. C. P. de Them., ii. 25.

this period occupied by a Slav population, whom the epitomist of Strabo describes as Scythians. In the tenth century a further immigration of Slavs took place, and at this time, encouraged by the embarrassments of the central Government, the Melings and the Ezerites demanded and obtained the right of electing their own chiefs. When the crusaders marched in, the Melings were still masters in the mountains of Taygetus, and maintained their semi-independence, but the Slavs of Elis had been pushed back from the coast-lands into the mountain ranges of the interior, where they occupied a region known as Escorta, including the ancient Gortys of Arcadia, of which the name appears to be a corruption, and all the highland country north as far as the sources of the Ladon.[1] The whole land must then have enjoyed a long period of rest, for if large areas were still uncultivated, trade and industry had revived in the coast regions. The invaders found the country rich in natural resources, and were soon able to collect an ample revenue without placing any undue burden on the people. The fact that such a populous city as Andravida had remained unwalled on the plains implies that it had come into existence during a period of prosperity and peace.

For many years before the Frankish conquest the inert Byzantine Government had only exercised a nominal control over such remote provinces as the Peloponnese, where a few wealthy families had established an acknowledged influence, and held letters of authority, constituting in the hands of their chiefs a kind of delegated supremacy. Relations of the im-

[1] Escorta in Frankish times was practically synonymous with Arcadia. The name is probably a corruption of *eis Γορτυνά* for *Γόρτυν*, the regular accusative. Compare Estives for Thebes. The French chronicle has Escorta, the Greek Scorta. The accent is on the last syllable.

perial house had acquired vast estates as tenants of the crown, and the Melisseni, the Vranas, the Cantacuzeni held extensive districts on conditions not unlike those of feudal tenure. Already in the reign of Alexius III. the powerful family of Sguros, whose seat was at Nauplia, was aiming at the foundation of an independent state, and after the fall of the empire the jealous primates, released from their common allegiance, began to quarrel among themselves in ineffectual rivalry for the reversion of the functions of government.

The achievements of the crusaders with a relatively small force made their name redoubtable throughout the east. The partition of the empire had begun to take practical effect, and Bonifazio had already set out on his victorious march through the southern provinces. Villehardouin, with a small following of these formidable Frankish adventurers, appeared a valuable ally, and one of the most influential primates or archons of Messenia invited his co-operation in a joint enterprise for the conquest of the Peloponnese.[1] A compact was duly signed between them, and the western coastlands, the fertile plains of Elis and Achaia, were rapidly brought under subjection. The few troopers of which Villehardouin could dispose seem ludicrously inadequate for such an enterprise, but the Peloponnesians were at this time not only ignorant of the arts of war, but were also unprovided with defensive armour, and therefore no match for the mailed soldiers of the west. From his small force it was practically impossible to provide detachments for the fortresses which he secured. How few men sufficed to hold a

[1] Hopf conjectures this to have been Johannes Cantacuzenus, brother-in-law of the Emperor Isaac.

castle in the days when siege trains could only be moved with difficulty, and that where water carriage was available, the subsequent narrative will illustrate. But even such small outposts could ill be spared, and he was obliged to depend largely on native levies for garrison duty. Early in 1205 his Greek confederate, who had kept faith with him, died, and his son[1] denounced the compact. The garrisons of the castles then declared against him, and he found himself virtually isolated in a hostile country. The eastern Peloponnese was in the hands of Leon Sguros, who was now actually at war with the crusaders, and Villehardouin's position appeared to be desperate indeed. He therefore determined on a bold course. Having learned that the armies of the King of Thessalonica were engaged in the siege of Corinth and Nauplia, he gathered his followers together, and rode in great peril for six days through the enemy's land to the Lombard camp, where he arrived in safety, and was received with honour and regard.

At Bonifazio's headquarters he found Guillaume de Champlitte, a personal friend, and one with whom moreover Villehardouin, as a nobleman of Champagne, felt himself connected by ties of feudal obligation.[2]

[1] The chronicle of Villehardouin specifies a certain Michalis by name. Hopf conjectures Michael Cantacuzenus.

[2] Hugh I., the eighth Count of Champagne, married Elizabeth of Burgundy, who bore a son named Eudes. The Count contested his legitimacy, and reduced him to the legitimacy of his mother, from whom he inherited Champlitte, while the county of Champagne passed to his cousin Thibaut. Eudes married Sibylla of Dijon, and by her had four sons: Eudes, who died during the crusade; Louis, who inherited the French estates; William, who succeeded Louis in 1209; and Hugh, who died in 1196. It is not improbable that Villehardouin had regarded Eudes, who died in Constantinople, as the legitimate successor to the county of Champagne, and on hearing of his death, transferred his allegiance to William. The latter is constantly described in the chronicle as "le Champenois," and Eudes is referred to as the Count of Champagne.

To him he confided his experiences in the Peloponnese, and his conviction that a small body of men could there make themselves masters of a most desirable inheritance. "I am come," he said, "from a right good country which they call Mourée.[1] Take such men as you can muster, and leave this army; let us go with God's help and conquer it, and whatsoever portion of the lands that we may acquire you shall deign to give me, I will hold of you and be your liegeman for them." The proposal commended itself to Champlitte, who sought and obtained the sanction of Bonifazio, nothing loth to see the undue share which Venice claimed in the partition of the empire diminished by the effective occupation of his own adherents. So with upwards of a hundred knights in their train, and an imposing body of sergeants, Champlitte and Villehardouin set out for Patras.

In his history of the conquest of Constantinople the marshal of Romania has described the first attempt of his nephew to establish himself in the Morea, his arrival in the camp, and his proposal to Champlitte. The Chronicle of Morea, written certainly a hundred years later, when the early adventures of the conquistadors had passed into a mythical stage, is of little historical value for this portion of the story. It introduces Champlitte[2] himself as arriving in the Peloponnese directly from the west, whereas he had taken part in all the earlier phases of the crusade, and represents Geoffrey Villehardouin, who had been in Syria, as having accompanied the army of Bonifazio, evidently confusing him with his uncle the marshal.

[1] Morea, for the origin of this name see App. I. note 5.

[2] Described as *Guillerme de Saluce* and *de Salu*; *νὶὲ* Σαλούθε in the Greek text; no doubt *de Salins*, of which domain the Champlittes were lords.

For subsequent events, when Champlitte and Villehardouin together undertook the conquest of the Morea, the account of the chronicle must be accepted for want of a better authority. It no doubt placed on record the popular tradition of a hundred years later, and from this evidence, from a few brief indications in the history of the elder Villehardouin and from the correspondence of Innocent III., the story of the conquest has to be reconstructed.

They set out from Corinth, where a portion of the crusading army under Jacques d'Avesnes was besieging Leon Sguros, and it was perhaps in consequence of the withdrawal of so considerable a force that the latter made a successful sortie, wounding d'Avesnes and killing a number of his followers. Working their way along the southern shore of the gulf and encountering no resistance, they marched beneath the terraced plateau of Sicyon, under the shadow of Cyllene, into the fertile sea plain of Ægion or Vostitza, where the fair anchorage afterwards suggested the establishment of the headquarters of a feudal barony. They looked across the waters to Helicon and great Parnassus lifting their storied crests in vain. For no thrill of old association woke response in these rude soldiers of the west, to whom the Greeks were heretic "griffons," and the Hellenes of old, who had crowned the heights with wall and tower, passed for the giant races of an earlier world.[1] Little recking of the memories that harbour in these immortal hills, they marched on through vineyard, cornfield, and olive grove towards Patras, one of the twelve strong cities of the Morea, which might oppose their advance.

[1] The "Hellenes" of the Greek chronicle is rendered in the French version by "*Jaians.*"

At the head of the troop ride the two leaders, accompanied by a small band of prelates, intent rather on the prospect of benefices than the winning of souls, and scarcely distinguishable by their habit from the lay soldiers. They are in the enemy's country, and march armed to meet any eventuality. Each knight is dressed from head to foot in a close-fitting suit of mail, the coif or hood of steel covering the head, and leaving only the features exposed. His casque, a vizored, flat-topped headpiece, to be worn over the coif, hangs at the saddle-bow, being too weighty for use except in actual fight. Over his mail is a surcoat, embroidered on the chest with the arms of his house, and on the shoulder with the emblem of the cross. A long, straight sword, and a short sword for use at close quarters hang from the waist-belt, and the shield or target, small and triangular in shape, also blazoned with his escutcheon or distinguished with the cross, is carried with his lance by an attendant on foot. The sergeants follow the knights to whom they are attached. Their mail, inherited or acquired as it may be, is generally less complete, and bears the stamp of an earlier time, before the art of the armourer had developed its highest skill in the adaptation of steel. Some are mailed only to the knee, others wear the short-sleeved byrnie of many years ago, but almost all have the coif on the head. Others again are complete in mail to wrist and ankle, but only the outer side is thus sheathed, and on the unexposed side the links are laced together with leathern thongs. Some of the poorer adventurers have no mail at all, and only wear the thick gambeson or pour-point,[1] a

[1] Also called Hacqueton, from the Arabic *El kutn*, the quilting being padded with cotton. Targe or target for shield is probably also a reminis-

padded and quilted garment, which, though generally worn under the mail, was in itself sufficient to turn a sword-cut.

Patras offered no resistance. The castle, the existing remains of which are ascribed by local tradition to Villehardouin, was garrisoned, and the invaders, marching on across the maritime plain of Achaia, with its low-lying marshes and forests of oak, turned south and entered the rich province of Elis, famous in the days of Pausanias for its fruit, hemp, and flax, and for the cultivation of the silkworm. The open town of Andravida, situated in the centre of the plain, was the most populous and thriving in the region which the Franks designated Morea. Like Patras it submitted voluntarily to Champlitte, who, raising native levies, continued his southward march along the sea-coast, starting from the port of St. Zaccaria, in the northern angle made by the bold square promontory known to the ancients as Chelonatas, which afterwards became the chief harbour of the principality under the name of Clarenza. A portion of the force at the same time took ship there with the heavy baggage and engines of war. The castle of Pondicocastro, which commands the bay of Catacolo, north of the mouth of the Alpheius, was next garrisoned, but the strong fortress of Arkadia,[1] the ancient Cyparissia, was left unchallenged for the present, as there was no good anchorage for their ships. Advancing by port Junch or Zonklon, the ancient Pylos and modern

cence of the crusades, and derived from the Arabic *Turs*. Plate armour had not yet been introduced. It was only fully developed in the fourteenth century, though by the middle of the thirteenth the armourers began to apply small plates to cover exposed parts and the joints.

[1] Accented on the penultimate. I shall retain the spelling Arkadia to avoid confusion with the province Arcadia.

Navarino,[1] the whole force at length assembled at Modon, where Villehardouin had disembarked on his first visit to the Morea.

The defences of Modon had been destroyed by the Venetians nearly a century earlier, because the little harbour on their highway to the east had become a refuge for pirate craft. The Franks now restored its fortifications, and storing their supplies and artillery, made it their headquarters. The present picturesque walls of Modon and the hexagonal castle, at the point of a long tongue of land which projects into the sea towards the island of Sapienza, belong to the period of its second occupation by the Venetians.

The ease with which Champlitte possessed himself of the strong places in the west of the peninsula, and reduced to submission the country which Villehardouin had won and lost again, was mainly due to the judicious conditions which were everywhere offered to the local inhabitants, who were invited to sit on joint commissions with the Franks for the apportionment of real estate. Established titles to property were generally respected; the tenantless lands and the old state domain were apportioned among the Franks, while in certain cases the seigniorial revenues of lands cultivated by the peasantry were divided between Greeks and Franks.[2] The poorer classes, moreover, who had long suffered under the tyranny of the primates, were not indisposed to welcome the new lords, to whom they looked for protection from further oppression. But in the meanwhile the Peloponnesians of the central plateau, alarmed at the rapid progress

[1] The Frankish name of Junch is derived from the abundant rush-beds (*joncs*) existing there. For the origin of the modern name Navarino, see App. I. note 14.

[2] *Terres de parchon.* See chap. ix. p. 26, vol. ii.

of the crusaders in gaining the allegiance of the Greeks, united to oppose their further progress in obedience to a summons from the Despot Michael of Epirus, who himself contemplated the annexation of the peninsula to his dominions.[1]

The Moreote army was composed of men from Lacedæmonia, Nikli and Veligosti in the plain south of Megalopolis, who were joined by a force of Epirote cavalry from across the gulf. They concentrated five thousand strong, horsemen and footmen, in the lowlands of Messenia. The Franks, who marched from Modon to meet them, could only oppose five hundred men to this formidable array, but the quality of their mailed and disciplined soldiers rendered them more than a match for ten times the number of untrained levies. Their Greek allies reported all the enemy's movements, and guided them with perfect loyalty. The two armies met in the olive groves of Condura, where the Greeks were all but annihilated, their horses and much booty falling into the hands of Champlitte, who returned in triumph to Modon.[2] Michael withdrew with a remnant of his horsemen to Epirus, and resigned all further attempts to annex the Morea. This was the only serious opposition encountered in the first stage of the occupation.

The important coast town of Coron, the ancient Asine, and Calamata on the Messenian gulf next surrendered to Champlitte, who bestowed the latter as a baronial fief on Villehardouin. His Greek advisers then urged the occupation of Nikli and Veligosti as a

[1] P. Ranusio, *della Guerra di Constantinopoli*, p. 136.

[2] The French chronicle omits all mention of this battle. The Greek version describes it with full details, which agree generally with the brief notice in Villehardouin's history, but the numbers engaged are stated as being 700 and 4800 respectively.

basis for operations in Laconia. Villehardouin, however, who always appears as the prudent counsellor, perceived the danger of a further advance until the Franks had taken the strong castle of Arkadia in their rear, and had secured the defiles of the Gortynios, a torrent-tributary of the Alpheius, the gate of the wild Arcadian highlands, inhabited by Slav colonists. These Slavs of Gortys, or Escorta, had made terms with the invaders soon after their occupation of Patras, but a fortress called Oreoklovon or Araklovon,[1] north of the pass, was still held by a soldier of reputation, a certain Doxapatres of the Laconian family of Boutzara. The advice of Villehardouin was adopted, and detailing sufficient men to invest Araklovon, Champlitte marched overland to Arkadia, which made some resistance. The castle, raised on the foundation of an old Hellenic citadel, with a great tower built "by the Giants,"[2] was too strong to carry by assault. The Franks therefore prepared their mangonels and trebuchets to batter down the walls, whereupon the defenders came to terms as the other Moreotes had done, and surrendered the fortress on condition that their property was secured to them. Arkadia was conferred, like Calamata, on Geoffrey Villehardouin.[3] The chronicle tells us little about the conquest of Escorta and the advance up the valley of the Gortynios,

[1] The site has not been identified with certainty. Leake assumes it to be at Lavda, the ancient Theisoa, but the castle at Lavda was certainly St. Helena, and the position does not correspond to the scanty notices we have respecting Araklovon. There is a valley in this region, near Dimitzama, to which Buchon gives the name of Arachova, and at no great distance from there, near Vlongos, he found ruins of a Frankish castle. (*Grèce Continentale et Morée*, p. 493.)

[2] *De l'ovre des Jaians* (*F. C.*, p. 43).

[3] The grant of Arkadia to Villehardouin is only mentioned in the Greek text (*G. C.*, 1865), nor does the French text refer to Araklovon and Doxapatres (*G. C.*, 1759, &c.). The Aragonese chronicle adds some details (*A. C.*, § 111).

but a reminiscence of the taking of Araklovon is preserved in a local tradition of the district, which records the passion aroused in Champlitte by the "Maid of Carytena," the daughter of Doxapatres, who, attempting to escape disguised as a servant among the fugitives, was recognised by a valuable ring which she had neglected to remove. Immured by the conqueror in the castle he had taken from her father, and refusing to yield to his advances, she was flung from the tower and dashed to death on the rocks below.[1] The castle of Araklovon was renamed Bucelet by the Franks, and after the conquest of Escorta it was included in the barony of Carytena, designed to hold in allegiance the Slavs of these mountains on the southern side, while to the north they were overawed by the great barony of Akova or Matagriffon.

It was probably not until after the final subjugation of the mountains of Arcadia and the establishment of his principal adherents as barons in the conquered regions that Champlitte ventured to adopt the unwalled town of Andravida as his capital. From the scanty evidence at hand it is not possible to determine the extent of territory which he himself annexed or the precise sequence in which the annexations took place. We learn, however, from Venetian records that in the year 1206, the weak garrisons left by the Franks in Modon and Coron on their advance into the interior were driven out by Riniero Dandolo, son of the great Doge, and Ruggiero Premarini, who, after taking possession of Corfu, sailed on to vindicate the claims of the republic in the peninsula. In the following

[1] A modern Greek drama deals with the legend of Araklovon. Maria Boutzara is there represented as having induced her father to surrender the castle for love of Champlitte. She is, however, abandoned by the Frank on his return to France, and in despair drowns herself in the Alpheius.

year Champlitte and Villehardouin returned to dispute their occupation, and Venice, now engaged in the conquest of Crete, could ill spare men to maintain a precarious foothold in the Morea. Nor is it possible to ascertain with certainty, owing to the inconsistencies of the only available record, the period at which the Franks became masters of Veligosti and Nikli, the former an important but open town in the central Arcadian plateau, the latter occupying the site of the ancient Tegea. The chronicle mentions these two places as the headquarters of baronies established by Champlitte before his departure from Greece in the spring of 1209, together with a third barony still further to the east, which derived its name from Geronthræ, beyond Sparta. On the other hand, Villehardouin is represented, though only in the Greek text, as the hero of the conquest of Veligosti, Nikli, and Lacedæmonia, after the departure of Champlitte. It would seem, therefore, either that the list of baronies which Champlitte is explicitly stated to have confirmed must in reality belong to a rather later period, or else that the author's partiality led him to attribute to Villehardouin alone successes which were achieved under their joint auspices. Champlitte was upwards of three years in the Morea, and the importance of seizing these strategic points had been urged upon him immediately after the taking of Calamata, up to which time his progress had been practically unchecked. The chronicle, moreover, distinctly states that after the fall of these three places there still remained Corinth, Argos, Nauplia, and Monemvasia to subdue before the conquest of the peninsula was completed, and from Henry de Valenciennes we learn that Villehardouin was actually laying siege to Corinth when he was

summoned by the Emperor Henry to the parliament of Ravenika in May 1209, only a very short time after the departure of Champlitte. There is therefore good reason to assume that the central and south-eastern portions of the Peloponnese had already been at any rate partially annexed, and that outposts had been established there before Villehardouin took over the stewardship for his absent lord.[1]

At the end of 1208 or the beginning of 1209 messengers arrived from France to announce to Guillaume de Champlitte the death of his brother Louis who, upon the decease of Eudes in Constantinople, had succeeded to the family estates. His own sons whom he had left behind in France being minors, it was necessary for him, in accordance with feudal usage, to appear within a prescribed term in person before his liege lord, and make good his claim to the barony of Champlitte. He therefore appointed his nephew Hugh to act as bailie or vicar in his absence, and sailed early in 1209 for Apulia, where he fell a victim to the fever of the country and died soon after landing. His nephew also died within a few weeks of his departure, and the new state, Achaia, was left without a head.

Villehardouin, who had not only been the first to land in the peninsula, but had inspired the enterprise which his sword and counsel had also successfully sustained, was obviously the man of the moment. Lord of Calamata and Arkadia, with territories extending to Coron and Modon, from which Venice had

[1] We can scarcely assume that districts not yet annexed had been marked out as fiefs, as if so there would be no reason why Corinth, Argos, and Nauplia, which had been intermittently attacked, and were necessary to the scheme of conquest, should not similarly have been assigned before actual annexation.

again withdrawn, he was master of nearly the whole of Messenia, and the most powerful of the Moreote nobles. Bonifazio, under whose auspices the conquest had been made, had died in 1207, and Villehardouin now seems to have entered into negotiations with Henry of Flanders, who was actually at open war with the rebellious Lombards of Thessalonica, and to have secured the Emperor's recognition and support by an offer of allegiance, inasmuch as he was summoned to the parliament of Ravenika, where his barony was confirmed to him, together with the appointment of seneschal of Romania. It is also probable that the other nobles in Morea selected him to undertake the duties of bailie after the death of Hugh, and readily countenanced the subsequent usurpation of one whose able government had already secured him the suffrages of the Greeks. In any case, within a year of his appointment to be seneschal, he succeeded in disinheriting the heirs of Champlitte, and was referred to as a prince of Achaia in the letters of Pope Innocent III.

The account given in the chronicle of the first feudal settlement of the country and the manner in which Villehardouin secured the principality is certainly not throughout historical, but it undoubtedly has a foundation of truth, and is well worthy of study on account of its intrinsic interest and of the picture it affords of the feudal practice of the time. In substance it is as follows:—

Before returning to France Champlitte determined to set his principality in good order, and parcel out the conquered territory. He accordingly appointed Villehardouin president of a mixed commission, consisting of two bishops, two Frankish nobles, and four Greek

archons,[1] who were to define the domain of the prince, the areas of the great baronies, and the estates assigned to bishoprics, abbeys, and the military orders. In the proposed settlement Villehardouin is represented as having excluded himself from all participation. But Champlitte, addressing him in a panegyric in which he is confounded with his uncle, the marshal of Romania, bestows Calamata and Arkadia upon him and his heirs, and further appoints him bailie during his absence, with the express condition that if any member of the house of Champlitte shall arrive in the Morea within the term of a year and a day, the principality shall be handed over to him, and Villehardouin shall be his liegeman. Should no relative duly deputed arrive within the limit of time prescribed to claim the government, it should devolve upon Villehardouin absolutely. The various enfeoffments which had been agreed upon were then sealed by Champlitte with his own seal, and this done he took his departure.

Villehardouin thereupon assembled a parliament at Andravida to register the fiefs bestowed, to define the conditions of servitude, and ascertain what claims remained to be satisfied. The following baronies and enfeoffments had been confirmed by Champlitte:—

(1) Matagriffon,[2] with twenty-four knights' fees, to Gautier de Rosières; (2) Escorta, with twenty-two knights' fees, to Hugues de Bruyères;[3] (3) Patras, to Guillaume le Alemant. The important city was in lieu of other fees; (4) Calavryta, with twelve knights'

[1] *A. C.*, § 116, states that this commission consisted of the archbishop of Patras, Villehardouin, the Chancellor, and two Greeks.

[2] The original name was apparently Akova. The castle of Matagriffon was built early in the reign of William Villehardouin.

[3] Geoffroi, in the French text.

fees, to Othon de Tournay; (5) Vostitza,[1] with eight knights' fees, to Hugues de Charpigny; (6) Nikli, with six knights' fees, to "Messire Guillaume";[2] (7) Veligosti, with four knights' fees, to Mathieu de Mons; (8) Passava, with four knights' fees, to Jean de Neuilly; (9) Gheraki in Laconia, with four knights' fees, to Guy de Nivelet; (10) Gritzena, with four knights' fees, to "Messire Luc"; (11) Chalandritza, with four knights' fees, to Audebert de la Tremouille.[3] Calamata, which with Arkadia had been bestowed upon Villehardouin, must be added to bring up the total to the traditional number of twelve baronies, whose lords were peers of the realm.

The Metropolitan of Patras received eight knights' fees; the bishops of Coron, Modon, Veligosti, Nikli, and Olenos, four respectively. To the orders of the Temple, the Hospitallers of St. John, and the Teutonic knights, a similar number were severally assigned.[4]

All these concessions, together with the single fees granted to individual knights and sergeants, he caused to be entered in a register. The barons holding cities or great baronies were required to furnish a knight and two sergeants, for each fee of which they seised. The

[1] Grite, in the French text; perhaps the name of the Laconian portion of the barony. See note 4 *infra*.

[2] According to Hopf, Guillaume de Morlay.

[3] Imbert, in the chronicle of Dorotheus. See Introduction.

[4] The lists of baronies and fiefs cited in the Aragonese chronicle (116–135) seems to have been compiled from later sources, and is demonstrably incorrect as ascribed to this period. It throws no light on the personality of "Messire Guillaume" or "Messire Luc," but there is reference to a barony in the plain of Morea, bestowed upon Chaudron, the high constable, whose name is given as "Jufre." It specifies thirteen original baronies without counting that of Villehardouin himself, and in addition to Chaudron, mentions Guibert de Cors, Jacques de la Roche, "Messire Gui" and "*un otro gentil cavallero*," who received six fees in the "*partidas de Corento*," as well as Geoffroi d'Aunay, who only came to the Morea after the fall of the Frankish empire, and then received Arkadia from Villehardouin. It also particularises certain knights' fees assigned to followers not of baronial rank, and adds that the

lesser barons, holding only four knights' fees, owed body service with a knight and twelve sergeants, and every knight seised of a single fee owed body service for that fee, as did every sergeant for his sergeantry. Military service was theoretically constant. Four months were to be spent in garrison duty, and four in the field, while during the remaining four the feudal vassal, though free to live on his property, was bound to obey any call to arms which his lord might make. The bishops and military orders were excused garrison duty, but were otherwise under similar obligations as regarded active service. They were also called upon to assist in the internal administration, though not required to sit as judges for murder and crimes of violence.

This business concluded, Villehardouin resumed the offensive, taking possession of Veligosti and, after a stout resistance, of Nikli and Lacedæmonia, the two former of which had, however, according to the register of fiefs, already been distributed as headquarters of baronies by Champlitte.[1] He also despatched troops to Helos, Vatica, and Monemvasia.

Greek monasteries, the chaplains, and the peasants were confirmed in the possession of their lands. A barony conferred upon "Messire Gui" is described as located partly on the coast of Lacedæmonia, and partly on the Gulf of Corinth. He is also said to have died soon afterwards, whereupon his son Hugo Chérpini built the castle of Vostitza. The chronicle of Dorotheos refers in the followiug terms to these baronies:—*Τοῦ δὲ ὀγδόου τοῦ μισὲρ Ῥηγοὺ ντὲ Λέλη ἔδωκε νὰ ἔχῃ ὀκτὼ καβαλαριῶν φύαις εἰς τὴν Βοστίτζαν, Τοῦ δὲ ἐννάτου, τοῦ μισὲρ Τοὺ ντὲ Τζέρπουντε, μισὲρ Δοῦκα ὀνομαζόμενος εἰς τοὺς Λάκκους τέσσαρες φύαις, καὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίαν.* Δοῦκα is no doubt the Λοῦκα of the metrical chronicle. Can Ῥηγοὺ represent Hugo de Lille, and Τοὺ Guy de Charpigny? If so, it may be conjectured that this Hugo was the son of a Guy de Charpigny of Lille, who succeeded to a barony situated in two different provinces, of which only the fiefs on the Gulf of Corinth were retained after the Franks lost Laconia.

[1] The statement occurs only in the Greek text. The author of the French version had, perhaps, remarked the inconsistency in the original chronicle, and therefore omitted to mention these conquests here.

By his achievements not less than by his moderation in success he won the hearts of the people, who loved and esteemed him above their real liege lord, and his popularity led him into temptation. Many came and besought him to keep the land for his own, and listening to their persuasive words, he grew deaf to the voice of conscience, and was led to covet the glories of this world rather than the salvation of his soul. He accordingly despatched messengers to his friends in France and in the various ports of embarkation, charging them, if the Count of Champagne[1] should send any member of his family to Romania, to find some pretext for delaying his journey until the term appointed had expired.

Meanwhile his liege lord had been received by the French King in Paris, where he was celebrating the feast of Pentecost with the twelve peers of his realm.[2] Withdrawing to his own country, he took no steps for eight months to safeguard his possessions in Romania, having perfect confidence in the loyalty of his bailie. At length, however, he summoned his cousin Robert, and bestowed the land of Morea upon him, to hold as his liegeman. But November had already come before he despatched him on his journey, furnished with the necessary letter for Villehardouin. The snows had already blocked the Alpine passes, and he was delayed a whole month before he crossed the Mount Cenis, and made his way through Lombardy to Venice, where he was received with great ceremony. But Geoffrey had been in negotiation with the Doge, and two more months were lost before the vessels

[1] Champlitte is here spoken of as the rightful heir to the county of Champagne. See note on p. 106.

[2] From the letters of Innocent III. it is clearly established that he really died in Apulia, on his way home.

which were to escort him could be ready. When at length they got to sea, the captain of his galley received secret instructions to call at Corfu, and as soon as his passengers had gone ashore, to weigh anchor and sail for Crete. Accordingly, when that port was reached the master pretended that he had cargo to discharge, and Robert landed to pass the night in the castle. Under the cover of darkness the galley slipped away and made for S. Zaccaria, now renamed Clarenza by the Franks, whence messengers were despatched to warn Villehardouin of his rival's approach. It was only after great difficulty, and still further delay, that Robert secured a passage to S. Zaccaria, in an Apulian ship. By this time Geoffrey, who had provided for all eventualities, had left his capital at Andravida for la Glisière, whence, as soon as Robert had landed, he withdrew to Calamata. On his arrival at Andravida the harassed pretender became aware of the conditions of Villehardouin's stewardship, and realised that only a few days were left him in which to claim his rights before they escheated to the crafty bailie. Demanding horses and an escort from the governor of Andravida, he set out with all possible expedition for Calamata. But the elusive Villehardouin had already left for Veligosti, whither Robert followed him, growing hourly more indignant, only to find that he had just withdrawn to Nikli, whence he had to be once more pursued to Lacedæmonia. No sooner, however, had the period imposed in the letter of appointment expired, than Geoffrey rode out to meet Robert of Champagne with a numerous following of nobles and prelates, omitting none of the ceremonial courtesies due to the kinsman of the Prince. But when the latter produced a letter, witnessed by the King of France, according to

which the bailie was required to hand over to him the reins of government, Geoffrey drew forth his own letter of appointment, showing by its date that his term of stewardship had expired a week before, and that since no claimant had appeared within the prescribed limit of time, the principality was his by the free gift of Champlitte. He declared himself, nevertheless, ready to submit the issue without prejudice to the decision of the nobles there assembled, a proposal to which Robert could not well demur. The court of arbitration, after some discussion, pronounced that the law was the law, and since it had been laid down that any claimant representing Champlitte must appear within a specified term, and that term had been allowed to expire, Count Robert could no longer claim the country, which belonged of right to Messire Geoffrey and his heirs. The decision was final; and he, seeing that it might no better be, prayed for a safe-conduct to return to his own country. He was escorted in great state to Andravida, whence, all things being arranged for his journey, with rich gifts and ample monies to defray his costs, he departed and returned to France.

Such is the story of the chronicle, a medley of truth and fiction. There is, in the first place, the obvious inconsistency to which attention has been drawn that it assigns the conquest of certain areas to Villehardouin after the departure of Champlitte, and at the same time includes them in the list of baronies distributed under the seal of the latter. In the second place, the circumstances attending the departure of Champlitte, and the stewardship conferred upon Villehardouin, as here narrated, must certainly be rejected as not historical. A letter of Innocent III., written

in the thirteenth year of his pontificate, states, on the authority of the bishop of Patras, that a certain Hugues de Champlitte, or Champagne, was appointed bailie on the departure of his relative,[1] and in that capacity bequeathed, on his death-bed, certain lands to the church at Patras, a bequest which it appears from the same letter was afterwards confirmed by Villehardouin. The death of this Hugh de Champlitte must have followed very closely after the departure of William, whereupon Geoffrey, either elected by the barons or stepping into his place as the most powerful noble of the Morea, became bailie, and as such was summoned by the Emperor Henry to attend the first parliament held in Ravenika. Geoffrey was, according to Henri de Valenciennes, at this time engaged in besieging Corinth,[2] for since the return of Bonifazio to Thessalonica, the blockade had apparently been left to the Moreote adventurers. Leon Sguros, stubbornly holding out in his impregnable citadel, had died in the course of the previous year, and the Despot, Michael of Epirus, the sole independent champion of the cause of the Greeks in Europe, sent his brother Theodore to stimulate the defence of the Isthmus. The energetic Villehardouin had consequently proceeded thither to conduct operations in person. He however attended the parliament, accompanied by Othon de la Roche and Gautier des Tombes, with a retinue of sixty knights, and there received the honorary title of seneschal of Romania, and became the Emperor's liege-

[1] "Willelmus Campiensis, dudum in Apuliam transiturus, nobilem virum Hugonem de Cham. suum ballivum et procuratorem fecit generalem." (*Ep. Inn. III.*, xiii. 170.)

[2] This is confirmed in a letter addressed to the bishop of Athens by the Pope. (*Ep. Inn. III.*, xiii. 6.)

man for his fiefs in the Morea.[1] The presence of the elder Villehardouin, the marshal, in the imperial camp no doubt assisted in furthering his nephew's ambition, and the unyielding attitude displayed on this occasion by the Lombard barons made it essential for the Emperor to secure the allegiance of the powerful bailie.

From Ravenika Geoffrey hurried back to Messenia to meet the Venetian conservator Raffaele Goro, who awaited him in the island of Sapienza, off Modon. A compact was then negotiated, subject to the ratification of the Doge Ziani, by which Villehardouin, in return for a guarantee that his pretensions would be supported by Venice, practically recognised her overlordship over the whole of the Morea up to Corinth, and agreed to do homage to the Doge. By the terms of this curious document he undertook to become a Venetian citizen, to own a house in the city, and send every year two silken robes to the church of St. Mark and another to the Doge, to have the same friends and foes as the republic, whose citizens were accorded immunity from taxation and a residential quarter with church and curia in any city in which it might be claimed. He further undertook to conquer at his own expense the whole of Laconia, which the partition treaty had assigned to the share of Venice, and of which only a small portion had as yet been annexed. A quarter of the province was to be transferred to the republic, as were also the Messenian ports of

[1] Buchon and others seemed to have assumed that it was at the parliament of 1210 that Villehardouin was created seneschal. But from the evidence of Henri de Valenciennes it is clear that there were two parliaments at Ravenika, and it was at the first, which the non-attendance of the Lombard barons rendered abortive, in the year 1209, that he did homage to the Emperor. He himself uses the title of seneschal in a charter dated September 1209. *Infra*, p. 127. See also note on p. 88.

Modon and Coron, with the territories appertaining to them, exclusive of church lands already assigned.[1] The surrender of Modon and Coron actually took place. But the other stipulations of the convention, if it was ever ratified, do not seem to have been made effective. For the moment, however, it was of undoubted value to the ambitious bailie. The pretensions of Champlitte had never been recognised by the Doge, who claimed the Peloponnese under the act of partition. In accepting the investiture of Venice, Villehardouin legalised his position there, and could dismiss from his mind any further obligation towards the heirs of Champlitte. So much historical basis at any rate exists for the story elaborated in the chronicle.

There can be little doubt moreover that, when the news of the death of Champlitte and of the bailie appointed by him reached France, steps were taken by the family to vindicate the claims of his children. Villehardouin, however, counting on the support of the Emperor Henry, and at the same time guaranteed by his treaty with Venice, was able to set these claims at defiance. The author of the chronicle offers a formal justification for an usurpation which he cannot morally defend, and it is possible that some such quibble of feudal usage was actually pleaded as à pretext. In view of the precarious tenure of the Franks in the east, the plea of expediency might with better reason have been urged in extenuation of Geoffrey's disloyalty to Champlitte, and the dotation of Venice might have been effectually put forward as legalising a trans-

[1] Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, Pt. II. pp. 96–100. "Ego Godfridus de Ville Arduini et mei heredes et successores simus astricti sacramento et vinculo fidelitatis donino duci et suis successoribus, et debeamus effici Venetici; et in Veneciis honorabilem dom(n)um debemus habere," &c.

action which the code of chivalry seems to have condemned.[1]

The name of Geoffrey of Achaia is not among those of the signatories of the general act of the second parliament held at Ravenika which is still preserved to us. Its provisions, regulating the status of church property north of the Isthmus of Corinth, were only extended to the Morea in 1223, in the reign of his son and successor. It is probable that at this period he was occupied in dealing with the heirs or representatives of Champlitte, and in consolidating his position within the peninsula, for the submission of the Despot of Epirus to the Emperor Henry, in 1210, entailed a suspension of hostilities round Corinth.

Documentary evidence of the change in Villehardouin's position which took place at this time is found in the letters of Innocent III., which serve as a touchstone to test the inaccuracies of the chronicle. In a letter dated the 4th of March 1210 he is described as seneschal of Romania only, while in another, written only a few days later, on the 22nd, and in several subsequent letters, he is given the title of Prince of Achaia.[2] Similarly in a charter of September 1209, making a grant of lands to the church, he styles himself seneschal of Romania only, while in another deed of the same character, drawn up in 1210, he has become "Prince of Achaia and seneschal of all Romania."[3]

[1] The "Assizes of Jerusalem" subsequently defined the proper attitude of vassals when the absent heirs to a throne were in danger of being dispossessed, "Si come il avint dou fait de la Morée as anfans dou Champenois, de Messir Geoffroi de Villehardouin, en cui mains elle demeura." (Beugnot, *Recueil des Croisades*, ii. 401.)

[2] *Ep. Inn. III.*, xiii. 6, 23; xv. 21, 22, 71.

[3] Published by Buchon, *R. H.*, vol. ii. pp. 375, 376. Marino Sanudo, however, writing about a hundred years later, describes his son Geoffrey II. as the first prince of Morea, and in the French chronicle also the latter is spoken of as "Messire Geoffroi de Villehardouin, le premier prince d'Achaye."

The peace with Michael of Epirus was not of long duration. Operations in the Isthmus were accordingly resumed, and between the years 1210 and 1212, Corinth, Nauplia, and finally Argos capitulated to Villehardouin and Othon de la Roche, lord of Athens. Only Monemvasia on a rocky islet, connected by a causeway with the Laconian coast, forming what had in former days been the haven of Epidaurus Limera, still held out. It was not absorbed until after the succession of William Villehardouin, to whose reign, nearly forty years later, the chronicle erroneously assigns the annexation of the other fortresses also, attributing the success at Nauplia to the assistance of Venetian galleys from Coron. That Venice co-operated with Geoffrey after the successful negotiations at Sapienza is very probable, and other details recorded in the chronicle may well be in themselves historical, but we are enabled to transfer the actual events to their proper date by once more applying the corrective evidence of the letters of Innocent, who in 1212 ordered Villehardouin and de la Roche to make restitution of church property confiscated after the capture of these strongholds,[1] and placed the church of Corinth under the protection of St. Peter.[2] The Pope, however, did not maintain the interdict which the archbishops of Patras and Thebes on this occasion pronounced against the victors. In return for his support and services Othon de la Roche received Argos and Nauplia, with a portion of the revenues of Corinth, and became for these fiefs the liegeman of the Prince of Achaia. The chronicle is very barren in historical matter as regards the latter portion of the ten years' reign of Geoffrey I., who appears to

[1] *Ep. Inn. III.*, xv. 65, 66, 77. [2] Ibid., 58, 61.

have governed with prudence and conciliation, adapting the customs of Champagne to his principality without violently disturbing local usages and prejudices. The one episode of interest, the marriage of his elder son Geoffrey, is transferred to the reign of the latter, and is wholly fantastic as there recorded.

According to the romance accepted by the author, the Emperor Robert had promised his daughter in marriage to the King of Aragon, and despatched the bride with a becoming retinue in two galleys to Catalonia. The vessels touched at the port of Catacolo in the Morea, whither Geoffrey came from La Glisière to offer the company hospitality. But after a two days' sojourn he invited the Princess to abandon the long journey to Spain and to remain as his bride in the Morea, a proposal to which the bishop of Olenos persuaded the reluctant girl to consent. The galleys returned to Constantinople and brought the news to the Emperor, whose indignation knew no bounds. But Geoffrey disarmed his anger by a letter in which he offered to become his liegeman, to hold all his lands of the Emperor, and fight on his side against the Greeks, their common enemy. After taking counsel with his barons, Robert perceived the hand of God in this matter, and it was eventually arranged that a meeting should take place at Larissa in Thessaly, whither Geoffrey went in company with de la Roche, and was received with great regard. Then it was agreed that the Emperor should bestow on Geoffrey the overlordship of the Cyclades as his daughter's dowry, with the title of Prince of Achaia and grand seneschal of the empire, and the right of minting coinage. The Prince then became the Emperor's liegeman, and received from him a copy of the usages of

Romania which "his brother" Baldwin had obtained from Jerusalem. So they took leave of one another, and Geoffrey returned joyfully to the land of Morea.[1]

At the time of the marriage of Geoffrey II. the King of Aragon was a boy of nine years old, and Robert, who indeed never had a daughter, had not yet ascended the imperial throne. The reference to Baldwin as his brother, instead of his uncle, suggests a confusion with Henry of Flanders, who did indeed bestow the title of seneschal on the first Villehardouin.[2] Robert had a younger brother Baldwin who succeeded him, but was only ten years old when he became Emperor. The overlordship of the Duchy of Naxos was actually granted to Geoffrey II., but not until a much later period.

It was Agnes de Courtenay, the sister and not the daughter of Robert, whom Geoffrey II. married, and the marriage took place during the reign of his father. When in 1217 Pierre de Courtenay disembarked at Dyrrachion for his disastrous march into Epirus, and the Empress Yolande, accompanied by her daughters Agnes and Marie, sailed on towards Constantinople, the imperial galleys, sailing within the islands along the Ætolian shore, crossed the mouth of the Gulf of Corinth and put in at Clarenza, the Frankish town which had grown up on the site of the old landing-place of S. Zaccaria. It was but a few hours' ride thence to Andravida, and on her visit to the capital the Empress received a most favourable impression of the prospects of the new Frankish state, and she left her daughter Agnes behind as the bride of the heir of Achaia, when the rumours

[1] This story is also told by Stefano Magno. See Hopf, *Chron. G.-R.*, p. 180. He probably derived it from the chronicle.

[2] The Aragonese chronicle displays a similar confusion of ideas. Robert is represented as second Emperor and brother of Baldwin I.

of disaster in Epirus compelled her to hurry on to Constantinople and assume the regency.[1]

A projected expedition to Epirus, in which Achaia was invited by the Pope to co-operate, for the rescue of the unfortunate Emperor and the papal legate, was abandoned upon the release of the latter, and towards the end of the year 1218 Geoffrey I. died. He left two sons: Geoffrey, born before the crusade, who succeeded, and William, born, it would seem, in Greece,[2] who inherited Calamata and eventually succeeded his brother; as well as a daughter, who married Hugues de Bruyères and became the mother of the most chivalrous and romantic figure in the annals of Morea.[3] His widow, Elizabeth de Chappes, survived him and found a second husband in Jacques de St. Omer. The conqueror of Morea was buried at Andravida, and all people, says the chronicler, rich as well as poor, mourned for him because of his great goodness, in such wise as a man mourns for his own father.

Geoffrey II., who like his father was appointed seneschal of Romania, had not long succeeded when a fresh dispute with the ecclesiastical hierarchy entailed upon him the extreme penalty of the interdict. The real spirit of the quarrel is once more faithfully represented in the account given in the chronicle, but the motive there assigned to the second Villehardouin for his attack on church property, namely, the refusal of the ecclesiastical feudatories to assist in the reduction

[1] Fragment published by Buchon. (*R. H.*, App. I. p. 449.)

[2] As he lived till 1278, he was probably born after the crusade, but Sanudo calls him "native of Champagne, like his brother."

[3] Buchon conjectures that there was a third brother, who became a monk, but his grounds for so doing are not convincing. Sanudo speaks also of three nieces of William Villehardouin, whom he married to three of the great Frankish barons. "Fece venir di Campagna e Borgogna tre sue nipote," (*Ist. di Rom.*, p. 101.) Perhaps *nipote* is loosely used for cousins.

of Corinth, Argos, Nauplia, and Monemvasia, is obviously incorrect, inasmuch as the three former had already capitulated some years earlier, and the last was only besieged in the subsequent reign of his brother William.

The Prince, so the story runs, after taking counsel of his barons, who had represented to him that the Church held almost one-third of all the land in Morea, required the clergy to take their share in the burden of defending the principality, and to co-operate in the campaign he was about to undertake. They refused to obey the call, on the pretext that they held their lands of the Pope, and not of the Prince. Geoffrey thereupon sequestrated all the fiefs of the Church until such time as they should come to reason, and employed the revenues in building Clairmont. Excommunicated forthwith, he nevertheless maintained the sequestration until the great castle was completed, and only then despatched a mission to Rome to explain the grounds of his action. A state of war, he urged, still existed in the country. The archbishops, bishops, and the military orders had rejected his appeal for support. He had therefore seized their lands, not for his own personal advantage, but in order to construct a redoubtable fortress, strong enough to protect the western coastlands and harbours of the Morea, and to serve as a base if ever the Franks were driven back from the interior. It was in the essential interest of Rome that he had so acted, for if once the Greeks regained the upper hand, what hope was there for the maintenance of the Latin Church? In conclusion he prayed for absolution and craved the favour of the papal benediction. His arguments were favourably received by Honorius III., who gave orders that the interdict should be removed, after

which the ecclesiastical dignitaries lived at peace with Geoffrey, and gave him their loyal support.[1]

If the accuracy of this account of the manner in which Clairmont was built cannot be absolutely established,[2] it is nevertheless certain that sentence of excommunication was actually pronounced by the cardinal legate at Constantinople against Geoffrey in 1220, and was at the same time renewed against Othon de la Roche, both of them having undoubtedly laid violent hands on church property. De la Roche was the first to reconcile himself with the spiritual authority, but it was not until three years had passed that Villehardouin sent Pierre le Alemant as an envoy to Rome to submit the questions at issue to a board of three cardinals. Beside the special issue which had led to the excommunication, it is clear from the letters of the Popes that there were a number of other matters calling for urgent settlement. Ecclesiastical affairs in the Morea had been in a state of chaos ever since the conquest. Champlitte, adopting the Greek tradition, had constituted the Latin primacy in Patras, assigning the church of St. Andrew to the see, and appointing canons in a somewhat uncanonical fashion. Innocent had nevertheless confirmed Antelm of Cluny as primate in 1207.[3] The Greek bishops were made suffragans to the See of Patras, and Rome counselled moderation and tact in dealing with the pre-existing order of things. But the anarchy ensuing after the conquest was too great for the ecclesiastical arm to control alone. The clerical

[1] *Ep. Hon. III.*, viii. 40–46; ix. 25, 35, 36.

[2] The author of the French chronicle has omitted it in his version.

[3] "Nos diligentius indugantes qualiter fuerat in ipsius electione processum, quod per vos factum fuerat, tanquam minus licite procuratum, cum et vos fuissetis minus canonice instituti, non duximus approbandum. Sed necessitate pariter et utilitate pensatis," &c. (*Ep. Inn. III.*, x. 61.)

adventurers of the crusade were only concerned with the spoils and eager to depart with their plunder, while a number of impostors, who had no title to orders, passed themselves off as priests, and obtained possession of benefices. While the religious orders showed little disposition to submit to his authority, the Metropolitan himself was engaged in a struggle to secure independence of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.[1] In the prevailing confusion the intervention of the secular arm was inevitable, and the first Villehardouin vigorously curtailed the power of the clergy, and restricted the abuses of mortmain. He assigned definite fiefs for the support of the archiepiscopal see, superintended the distribution of benefices, and removed the Greek priests from the archbishop's control.[2] Such scanty information as can be extracted from contemporary records throws but little light upon the relative positions of the Greek and Latin clergy at this period. The Greeks appear to have acquiesced, however reluctantly, in the Latin supremacy, while the Latins tolerated the ministrations of an heretical clergy.[3] The separation of the two churches had not yet been stereotyped by the long lapse of time, and it became still possible for Michael Palæologus, after the Greeks had retaken Constantinople, to proclaim their reunion. In accordance with the settlement negotiated during the mission of Pierre le Alemant to Rome, the Church remained in possession of all property held since the days of Alexius I., and Geoffrey signified his tardy adherence to the general

[1] *Ep. Inn. III.*, xii. 143.

[2] For Villehardouin's action see letters of Innocent, *passim*, years vii., x., xii., xiii.

[3] An interesting sidelight on the relations of Latins and Greeks in ecclesiastical matters is afforded by the system which Tournefort found still in practice in 1700 in Tinos, the one island at that time still remaining to Venice. See App. I. note 6.

Act of the parliament of Ravenika. He was not called upon to make restitution of sequestrated revenues, but was required to furnish a tax reckoned at 1000 hyperpers for the maintenance of bishoprics. Under orders from Honorius, the legate then withdrew the interdict.[1]

The great castle of Clairmont, Chloumoutzi[2] or Castel Tornese,[3] as it was called from the mint established there, was certainly built at this time, and there is no good reason for doubting that Church revenues were appropriated for the purpose. It crowns the rectangular peninsula or promontory of Chelonatas, which, ascending on the landward side in gentle slopes of sandstone from the level plain of Elis, breaks the western coastline of the Morea with a high foreland thrust seaward towards the island of Zante, On the northern side is the harbour known in Frankish times as Clarenza, or Glarenza, a name still attached to the cape forming the western arm of the bay. With the modern fashion for classical revivalism, the port has now been renamed Cyllene, and vestiges of the old Hellenic city can still be traced there among the more considerable remains of buildings of the Frankish epoch. Out of the soft sandstone hills, now covered with a low but dense vegetation of lentisk, arbutus, and heather, which form the promontory, rises a steep limestone bluff, from the crest of which the whole of Elis is visible, spread out like a map to the spurs of Eryman-

[1] *Ep. Hon. III.*, and *Raynaldi Ann. Eccl.* 1222, p. 501.

[2] The Greek name of Chloumoutzi or Chlemoutzi, which some have assumed to be a corruption of Clairmont, is more probably a diminutive of Chelmos (Romaic χελμός, or χλεμὸς from χλόα), a name not unfrequently given in Greece to hills covered with verdure. The diminutive may have been suggested by contrast with the greater Chelmos of Arcadia.

[3] The Denier Tournois, or tourneys of the standard of Tours, struck by the Prince of Achaia, were minted here.

thus inland. It commands the seaway through the Zante channel, and looks north over a wide reach of blue water to low-lying Missolonghi, the mountains of Acarnania, and the clustered islands which the crags of Cephalonia dominate. Such is the site of the great fortress, built to be the key of the western, as Acrocorinth was of the eastern Morea.

In the great enclosure entered by a triple gate, the various buildings which once surrounded the whole circumference are all unrecognisable ruins, save the keep itself, an elongated hexagon, the outer wall of which is also the eastern wall of the fortress. Round the hexagonal court are pilastered chambers, faced with carefully squared stone, not locally quarried, and roofed with pointed barrel vaults. Each of the longer sides forms a great vaulted hall, from which doors open on to terraces or balconies, built over arches, one on either side of the inner court. The floors have been broken through in places by the débris of the vaulted ceiling which has partially fallen in, filling up the underground chambers, and the cisterns hollowed in the rock. Four towers originally flanked the corners of the fortress, but only their solid foundations now remain, and a few machicolations are left to mark the height of the walls.

In the old shore-hugging days of navigation no vessels bound for the south or east, no galleys returning thence to the parts of Apulia or to Venice could pass without attracting the vigilance of the watchman at Clairmont. And we may conjecture with some degree of certainty that our own Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III., must have touched there when he started for Syria in 1240 and "tooke shipping at Brindize in Apulia" along with William Longespeé,

Earl of Salisbury, and many other noblemen.[1] The first castle was certainly completed and occupied by the year 1224, for the archives of the monastery of S. Remi, near Rheims, record a deed of gift dated from Clairmont in September of that year, by which Geoffrey bestowed upon the abbey a reliquary from the imperial treasury at Constantinople, containing drops of blood gathered on the Cross, which he sent to France by the hands of his kinsman Arnoulf de Cotty, monk of S. Remi.[2] The actual castle buildings were mined and blown up by Ibrahim Pasha in 1825.

Here or in his palaces at Andravida, Gastouni, and la Glisière, Geoffrey maintained a princely state which testifies to the prosperity and rapid development of Achaia. Eighty knights with golden spurs were maintained at his charges, and shared his palace and board. Indeed he founded a school of chivalry in Greece to which cadets of Burgundy and Champagne eagerly flocked, in days when knights adventurous still heard mystic voices calling them beyond the sea, and lured by the glamour of the morning land, went out into the unknown, dreaming of crowns terrestrial or celestial. He kept a vigilant eye on the lesser courts maintained by his barons, sending persons of confidence to report to him on their mode of life and the manner in which they treated their subjects.[3] The security of the realm and the piety of Villehardouin, who in spite of many difficulties with his clergy was a true son of the Church, also encouraged the Latin monastic orders to

[1] Hakluyt, vol. iv. p. 352. John Locke, in an account of his voyage to Jerusalem in 1553, refers to the castle: "Towards evening we set saile (from Zante) and had sight of a castle called Torneste, which is the Turkes, and is ten miles from Zante. It did belong to the Venetians, but they have now lost it. It standeth also on a hill on the seaside in Morea. (Hakluyt, vol. v.) A sketch of Tornese made before 1687 is published by Coronelli.

[2] Buchon, *R. H.*, ii. p. 376. [3] Sanudo, *Ist. di Rom.*, pp. 100, 101.

settle in the Morea, where Cistercians, Dominicans, and Franciscans founded numerous colonies. Daphne, on the road from Athens to Eleusis, and the ruins of the Arcadian abbey of Isova still testify to the wealth and scale of their establishments in Romania.

It was at the court of Geoffrey II. that the Emperor Robert ended his brief inglorious reign, on his journey back from Rome, whither he had gone to appeal to Gregory IX. against the barons of the empire, who had been roused to mutinous protest by the vices and incapacity of their dissolute sovereign. The prosperity of Achaia must have presented to the remorse of the dying Emperor a suggestive contrast with the destitution and anarchy which had become chronic in his Thracian provinces since the death of the energetic Henry. Indeed so wealthy had the country grown under the firm and equitable government of the Villehardouins that, when the Pope called upon the princes to contribute towards the maintenance of the impoverished Patriarchate, and collect a tithe from cleric and layman for the support of the tottering empire, Geoffrey is said to have offered his brother-in-law, Baldwin II., and the Emperor-regent Jean de Brienne, an annual subsidy of 20,000 hyperpers. Moreover he equipped a fleet, carrying a hundred knights and three hundred crossbowmen,[1] to co-operate with Brienne and a Venetian squadron, when in 1236 Constantinople was menaced from both sea and land by the combined attacks of Vatatzes and Johannes Asan. Leaving his brother William as regent in Achaia, he took command in person, broke through

[1] Albericus, 1236. There is probably exaggeration in the number of vessels which Geoffrey is here said to have equipped, even if transports are included.

the blockading Nicæan fleet, sank fifteen of their ships, and entered the Golden Horn in triumph. It was apparently in recognition of these brilliant services, and not as the chronicle pretends on the occasion of his marriage, that the Prince of Achaia received the overlordship of the Dodecannesos or Cyclades, under a special Bulla, which made Angelo Sanudo his vassal.[1] At the same time that of Eubœa was confirmed to him, with the right to claim from its three Lombard barons the service of eight knights or of an armed galley.

The extremities of poverty to which the imperial treasury had been reduced in the struggle for existence had driven the young Emperor Baldwin to make a personal appeal for assistance to the sovereigns of Europe, and during his absence from Constantinople Jean de Brienne died. The liberality of the Pope and of Louis IX. of France, and the sums he was enabled to raise by the pawning of relics and the mortgage of his estates at Namur, enabled him to collect a considerable force, but a portion of the army destined for the east, which was assembling at Venice, dispersed upon the death of Conon de Bethune, and not a few of these soldiers made their way to Achaia, and offered their services to the Prince. The success of Baldwin's mission, nevertheless, appeared to promise the empire a few years of security, but its internal resources had long been exhausted, the provinces whose taxation maintained the metropolis had ceased to exist, and the new mercenaries only proved ruinous to maintain. The Emperor therefore appealed once more to his wealthy and powerful vassal in the Morea, who despatched a second fleet to protect Constantinople from the attacks of Vatatzes. The Villehardouins were hard

[1] Sanudo, *Ist. di Rom.*, p. 100.

bargainers, and as the price of his support Geoffrey obtained the transfer to himself of Courtenay, Baldwin's hereditary countship in France. But Louis intervened on the ground that a cession made in such dire necessity was inequitable, and declined to ratify the transaction. The cession was annulled and Courtenay was settled on Marie de Brienne, as a portion for her widowhood. It seems probable, however, that Geoffrey received some promise of compensation in return for the renunciation of Courtenay, on the strength of which the Princes of Achaia subsequently advanced claims to other suzerainties such as, for instance, that over Athens. It is possible that on this occasion the overlordship over Bodonitza may also have been conferred upon him. Meanwhile his predominant position had gained for him another important vassal in the Count of Cephalonia and Zante, who, although brother-in-law to the Despot of Epirus, could hardly hope to hold his own in the immediate vicinity of Achaia without the countenance of so powerful a prince, and who therefore made voluntary submission. Geoffrey II. had thus gained almost as great an extension of territory by sagacious policy as his father had acquired by conquest.[1]

In 1243 a rumour of the death of Baldwin II. gained credence, and Geoffrey collected a large force intending to take over the regency as next-of-kin, but the rumour proved unfounded. In the following year the Pope, now Innocent IV., empowered him to devote a portion of the ecclesiastical revenues to the object of raising troops for the defence of Constantinople. This is the last historical fact recorded in his reign. His death took place about 1245, and by 1247 Agnes

[1] According to Albericus he acquired the vassalage of Cephalonia in 1236.

of Courtenay had returned as a widow to France.[1] In spite of the special intercession of the grateful Cistercian order on behalf of a benefactress, their marriage had remained childless, and his brother William succeeded. The Chronicle of Morea records the closing scene of his life in the following terms:[2]—

Upon his deathbed Geoffrey besought his brother William, who was to be his successor, to carry out a project which death prevented him from accomplishing, and to build a church over the grave of his famous father. Furthermore, he desired to be laid there also, and prayed that endowment should be made for priests and choristers to chant masses for his soul. This pious wish was duly executed by William, who built a minster church at Andravida dedicated to St. James, and entrusted to the care of the Templars. He assigned benefices to four chaplains, who were to say mass perpetually for the souls of his father, his brother, and himself. There they all lie together in one grave, the father in the middle, Prince Geoffrey, the elder son, upon the right, and Prince William on the left.

Half-way between the port of Clarenza and the castle of Clairmont, there is perhaps another historic grave. In a green fold of the pleasant hills which form the promontory of Chelonatas, bowered in olive and cypress, stands a little monastery which bears the name of Vlachernæ. The pointed arches of the upper portion of the church indicate a construction of the Frankish epoch. Its one or two ruinous monuments also date from that period, and a marble slab on the outer wall bears the floreate cross of the Frankish Emperors. The place was left an empty shell by the

[1] Du Cange, i. p. 304.

[2] This passage only exists in the Greek version.

troops of Ibrahim Pasha, when they destroyed Chloumoutzi, and laid this region waste. There is no record of its origin, but the mixture of Frankish and Byzantine styles in its construction seem to point to a time before the more ambitious western architects of Isova and St. Sophie had settled in the Morea. The name of the imperial palace at Constantinople, given to a little monastery in this situation, warrants the conjecture that it was founded to contain the grave of the Emperor Robert, who died at the court of Geoffrey II. in 1228. It is even possible that a tomb within the church, once covered by a pretentious canopy, which bears no trace of inscription, is that of the unfortunate Emperor, whose resting-place was then consecrated by the piety of his brother-in-law.[1]

[1] There was, however, a monastery dedicated to St. Mary of Vlachernæ in the diocese of Athens as appears from a letter of Innocent III. to Berard, bishop of Athens.

A slab from another tomb has been removed from the church and fixed on the wall of the court. It bears a shield with a lion rampant, and an inscription, now far less legible than when Buchon thus transcribed it seventy years ago. (*G. C. et M.*)

ANNO DNI MCCCLVIII DIE XX MENSIS SEPTEMBRIS
HIC JACET SEMENILIUS STI VIRIDI MILETI DE
LUCINIA QUI HABITAT IN VENECIIS.

Buchon suggests that Vlachernæ was built after the release of William Villehardouin in 1262, as a reminiscence of Constantinople. But it is not probable that he was confined there, as Nicephorus Gregoras states that on the return of Michael Palæologus to his capital the palace of Vlachernæ was uninhabitable from long neglect. (*Hist. Byz.*, Bk. IV. ch. 2.)

CHAPTER IV

THE SETTLEMENT OF ATHENS AND EUBŒA— THE BARONIES OF ACHAIA

THE accession of William Villehardouin marks the zenith of the Frankish power in the classic land, on which so large a measure of the interest and sentiment of humanity have justly been concentrated, but where at this particular epoch all associations with the past had faded out of memory. Before recording the vicissitudes of his eventful reign, it is necessary to make an excursion beyond the isthmus, and briefly to examine the conditions prevailing in Attica, Bœotia, Eubœa, and the rest of the limited area to which the tenure of the Franks was restricted after the recovery of the kingdom of Thessalonica by the Greeks. Some investigation also of the topography and characteristics of the Frankish baronies in the Morea itself, where the traditional tendency of the country to divide itself up into small states was no doubt propitious to its feudal settlement, is indispensable to a proper appreciation of the story which will be told in the following chapters.

There are unfortunately but few trustworthy data regarding the state of Attica at the time of the Frankish invasion. Practically all we know is derived from the writings of the last Greek archbishop before the conquest, Michael Acominatus,[1] brother of the

[1] Archbishop from about 1175 to 1205.

historian Nicetas, who, born himself in Asia Minor, nevertheless looked upon Athens as the mother city of the remnant which still clung to the traditions of classic culture. There is indeed a somewhat earlier reference to the medieval city in the treatise of the Arab geographer Edrisi, who wrote a description of Greece and the islands for King Roger in 1153, and who speaks of Athens as rich in population, surrounded with gardens and arable land; a very different picture from that given by the patriotic archbishop who took up his residence on the Acropolis some twenty years later, when all the springs were sealed in their sources, and drought and sun had made the parched land barren.[1] His letters testify to the pitiful condition of the scanty inhabitants, exposed to the merciless exactions of imperial tax-collectors, and the depredations of the pirate craft of every nation. The citizens, whom in his inaugural allocution he addressed as the sons of the ancient Athenians,[2] had even lost the use of their own glorious language, and his classic idiom fell upon unappreciative ears, corrupted by a barbarous dialect.[3] He addressed a memorial to the Emperor Alexius III., giving a graphic account of the fiscal abuses prevailing in his diocese, the extortions of the Byzantine strategus at Thebes, the destitution of the unpaid garrisons, the levying of ship money, the impoverishment of Athens, and the reduction of the population

[1] There is, however, no evidence to prove that Edrisi visited Attica in person, and he perhaps recorded a tradition of the city before the Norman invasion.

[2] There are grounds for believing that Athens remained comparatively immune from permanent Slav colonisation. The Albanian colonies of Attica belong to a later date.

[3] The very name of Athens had changed in the popular dialect to Satines or Setines, a corruption of εἰς Ἀθήνας, as Thebes became Estivas or Estives.

by emigration.[1] There is reason to believe that his highly coloured picture is in many respects exaggerated; but after due allowance has been made for the bias of a Greek archbishop, who was fighting the battle of his flock as their political spokesman, it is clear that Athens must have greatly declined since the days when the Emperor Basil II. bore witness to the glories of nature and art which the venerable city could still boast in the early years of the eleventh century.[2] In 1185, on the accession of the Emperor Isaac, the country was so impoverished that the customary coronation offering was not forthcoming. The semi-feudal conditions introduced in the reign of Alexius III., which gave extended powers to the archons, and ended by creating a number of petty tyrannies, did not improve the condition of the inhabitants, who only suffered from one extortioner the more, and there was no court in which to appeal against the enactions of Sguros of Nauplia.[3]

In spite of the learned bishop's lamentation over the intellectual degeneracy of the Athenians, the tradition of culture does not seem to have altogether died out in the twelfth century. A German traveller[4] has recovered traces of a mission of young students sent from Georgia by the Bagratid ruler David II., who

[1] Ellissen, *Michael Akominatos von Chonæ*. Göttingen, 1846.

[2] The monuments on the Acropolis were then scarcely touched by the hand of time. The remains of ancient Athens referred to by the archbishop as still existing in greater or less preservation in his time include practically only those with which we are familiar to-day.

[3] The evidence collected and published by Tallmerayer shows that the historic land had passed through a still more miserable phase in the past, when the Athenians were compelled, as of old during the Persian invasion, to seek a refuge in the island of Salamis from Slavonic raiders descending from the north, and only crossed timidly to the mainland to gather their olives and grapes. Again in the tenth century a Bulgarian invasion passed like a desolating whirlwind through the country.

[4] F. Bodenstedt.

had married a Greek princess, to study in Athens, if indeed the reference in this case be not to a monastery founded in their own country, and proudly referred to as a new Athens, superior to the old one. An Armenian historian[1] of the thirteenth century has also mentioned that translators from Georgia were sent to Greece to make copies and translations of manuscripts. The librarian of the famous Queen Thamar, the Georgian poet, Schota Rustawel, is said to have pursued his studies in Athens in 1192. It must, however, be frankly admitted that the Georgian legends of contact with Athenian culture rest upon a slender foundation. More interesting to Englishmen is the evidence of John of Basingstoke, whose experiences are recorded by Matthew Paris. He is said to have introduced the Greek numerals into England, and to have brought many books home with him from Greece. His patron, the bishop of Lincoln, who had himself translated the Ethics of Aristotle, sent to Greece for manuscripts which John had seen there. Matthew Paris had from his own lips the account of his studies in Athens in the pupil-room of a learned lady, Constantia, the daughter of the archbishop who, though not yet in her twentieth year, professed and lectured on literature and astronomy.[2] He died in

[1] Wardan.

[2] It is an ungrateful task to throw doubt on the story of this latter-day Hypatia, which Hopf accepts. But it is clear that in the student days of John of Basingstoke the archbishop of Athens could have been no other than Michael Acominatus, who occupied the see from 1175 to 1205, and we have it on his own authority that he had never been a father. It is true that in the same passage the archbishop protests that nevertheless love for children was not unknown to him, and therefore a theory of adoption might not be excluded. But it would be strange that in his ample correspondence Michael should never have alluded to an adopted daughter of such exceptional gifts, and Matthew Paris also records no testimony of John of Basingstoke as to the great reputation for learning of the father of his fair instructress.

1252 as archdeacon of Leicester. That some faint afterglow of reverence for classic sites still lingered in the west may also be gathered from a curious letter which Innocent III. addressed to Berard, the first Latin archbishop of Athens, commending to his special care the land of venerable tradition. The city, he wrote, divided into three parts, worshipping severally three false gods, had figuratively foreshadowed the worship of the three persons of the Trinity.[1] The rock of Pallas had now become the seat of the Glorious Mother, and the city, which had erected an altar to the unknown god, had now come to the ample knowledge of the God of Truth. It was therefore his pleasure to take under apostolic protection a city which had lavished its treasures of wisdom on well-nigh all the world.

Thebes had apparently suffered less severely than Athens from the general anarchy of the latter years of Byzantine rule. More than half a century before the arrival of the Franks, Norman invaders from Sicily had landed at Salona and marched into a defenceless Bœotia. They had found in Thebes a prosperous community of weavers and spinners, who supplied Constantinople with the costly silken tissues of eastern pomp and ceremony, and had carried off the master workers to Italy, with the object of transplanting this

[1] Antiquam Atheniensis gloriam civitatis innovatio gratiæ non patitur antiquari, quæ quasi modernæ religionis figura in prima ejus fundatione prœluserit, cultum quem tribus distincta partibus tribus falsis numinibus impendebat, sub tribus demum personis erga veram et individuam trinitatem convertit, &c. (*Ep. Inn.* III. Lib. XI.; Baluze, vol. ii. p. 266.) This passage relating to the three divisions of the city and the three patron deities is not clear. Gregorovius assumes the three divisions to have been the Acropolis, the city itself, and the port. The tripartite division, which is again referred to by a later writer, might also be explained by the Acropolis, dedicated to Athena, the ancient city of Theseus, and the Roman city of Hadrianopolis, dedicated to Zeus.

profitable industry to the new kingdom they had acquired in the south. The Normans, however, did not succeed in extinguishing the local trade, and Thebes, recovering rapidly from this crushing blow, remained the mart of the east for tissues and brocades, giving employment to a thriving Jewish colony, which was estimated at not less than two thousand souls by Benjamin of Tudela in the second half of the twelfth century.

The city received Bonifazio of Montferrat with open arms on his southward march in 1205,[1] and was bestowed as the reward of faithful service on Othon de la Roche-sur-Ougnon, lord of Ray, who placed a garrison of Burgundian knights in the Cadmeia, and rejoined the Marquis on his march to Athens. Here the archbishop, who had rallied the scanty population and stoutly defended the Acropolis against the aggression of Sguros, surrendered without a struggle to the western invaders. Lamenting the plunder of his episcopal library, and the wanton violation of the noble shrine, which by re-dedication to the Virgin Mother had survived the worship of Athena Parthenos, he withdrew to literary and philosophic retirement in the island home of Simonides, whence he could still see across a belt of waters the familiar outline of Hymettus rising over his beloved city.

The unfortunate Othon de la Roche was further invested with the lordship of Athens, but it was only after the death of Bonifazio that he found leisure to occupy the new domain from which he took the title of Seigneur or Sire. To the Greeks he was known as Megaskyr. His territories, which included, besides Attica and Megaris, the whole of Bœotia with the Opuntian Locris and the port of Atalanta, marched

[1] Ὡς οὐδέ τις ἐπανήκων οἴκαδε χρόνιος. (Nicetas, p. 805.)

with the barony of Bodonitza on the north and Salona on the west. He temporarily lost control of Thebes during the rebellion of the Lombard barons, but it was recovered and restored to him by the Emperor Henry. The Franks established themselves with great ease in these regions, thanks, no doubt, to the general oppression and misery which they found prevailing there. There is reason to believe that here also the rule of the conquerors was mild and equitable, seeing that the local populations prospered, and that many of the native clergy, who in Greece have always been identified with the popular sentiment, readily submitted to the jurisdiction of Rome. The rapid revival of commerce is attested by the re-establishment of a Genoese community in Athens, and in 1240 Guy de la Roche confirmed to the citizens of that republic freedom of residence in Thebes also, with trading facilities and immunities as well as the privilege of civil jurisdiction by their own consular officers.[1]

When Nauplia and Argos surrendered to the joint arms of de la Roche and Geoffrey Villehardouin, the former, as has been seen in the previous chapter, received the investiture of these important fiefs, and became for them the liegeman of the Prince of Achaia, whose title to the whole of the Morea had then been generally recognised. Some uncertainty prevails as to his feudal relations with his neighbours in two of the great baronies created by Bonifazio, at Salona and Bodonitza. One half of Thebes, an area which the existing records do not more accurately define, was early conferred by Otho on his nephew Guy de la Roche, son of his younger brother Ponce de Flagey. The other half was given somewhat later to his niece

[1] *Liber jurium Rep. Genuensis*, No. DCCLVII.

Bonne, who married or was formally betrothed to Demetrius, the ill-starred son of Bonifazio and Margaret of Hungary, but whether as her bridal portion or in compensation for the loss of Thessalonica is not clear. When Demetrius died in 1223 this daughter of Ponce de Flagey married Bela, son of Nicholas de St. Omer, a companion in arms of de la Roche.

Practically nothing is known respecting the feudal subdivisions and the internal economy of the state of Athens. The titles of seneschal, marshal, and constable, introduced into Achaia, are not found there,[1] nor do we know at what period the Assises of Romania, which regulated feudal usages, were adopted. Otho was a signatory of the Act of Ravenika, but in spite of the pledges to which he there subscribed, he was repeatedly at issue with the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and incurred the penalties of the interdict. Archbishop Berard, whom he selected for the see of Athens, was in 1206 confirmed by Innocent III., and the Parthenon, which became his metropolitan cathedral, with chapter and priory, and a constitution based on the model of the church at Paris, was placed under the special protection of St. Peter.[2] Suffragan sees of Athens were established at Negripont, Bodonitza, Daulia, Avalona, Zorkon, Carystos, Coronea, Andros, Scyros, Ceos or Zea, and Megara. A second archbishopric had its seat at Thebes, with Castoria and Zaratora as suffragan sees. The fact that the episcopal areas extended beyond the limits of the Athenian state, as did the Achaian sees to Coron and Modon even after these places were occupied by Venice, is consistent with the theory strictly maintained by the Latin bishops,

[1] At least not till after the Catalan occupation.

[2] *Ep. Inn. III.*, xi. 112, 113.

that they held directly from Rome, and were independent of the lay powers. Nor were Attica and Bœotia behind Achaia in giving a home to the monastic orders of the west. Under Benedict of Arezzo the newly instituted Franciscan friars established themselves at Thebes and in Negripont, and before long they had a house in Athens itself. The Basilian monastery of Daphne, at the entrance of the pass separating the plains of Attica from the plain of Eleusis, was bestowed by Otho on the Cistercians of Bellevaux.

The first lord of Athens had married the daughter and heiress of the Count of Ray in Burgundy, who bore him two sons.[1] After ruling for some twenty years over the territories which his sword had won, he abandoned his Greek principality and returned to his countship in France. It may be that he foresaw that the states founded by the Franks were destined to be ephemeral, and perceived that western methods and an alien church would never gain a permanent hold upon the populations of the east. It may be that after many years of war and adventure the broad lands of Ray were nearer to his heart than the mountain crown of Parnes, Hymettus, and Pentelicon. At any rate so little did he value the historic lands he had so laboriously acquired, that he did not even abdicate in favour of his sons who were fast growing up to man's estate, but taking them back with him to Burgundy he handed over the whole of his possessions to his nephew

[1] Othon de la Roche was the eldest son of Ponce, Sire de la Roche, the second of the name, who was still alive in 1193. This Ponce by a first marriage had a daughter and two sons, Otho, who became lord of Athens but eventually returned to France, and Ponce de Flagey, father of Guy de la Roche, Duke of Athens, William, Otho, and Bonne. By a second marriage he again had two sons and one daughter, Humbert, Thibaut, and Sibylle, who married Jacques de Cicon. (Guillaume, *Histoire des Sires de Salins*. Besançon, 1757. See genealogy in Appendix III.)

Guy.[1] Nor were any claims put forward on behalf of his direct heirs, after his death in 1234, to the kingdom of romance which he had resigned.

Besides Guy and Bonne de la Roche, other children of the younger branch had followed the fortunes of the family to Greece. William, the second son of Ponce de Flagey, obtained the barony of Veligosti in the Morea by cession from Matthieu de Mons, as well as Damala in Argolis, and founded the branch of the de la Roches de Veligourt. Another brother, Otho, acted as bailie of Athens during the absence of Guy in France in 1259, and altogether three brothers of Guy are mentioned in the chronicle as having been present at the battle of Carydi. Sibylle de la Roche, a half-sister of the first lord of Athens, the wife of Jacques de Cicon, came to Greece in 1206 with her son Otho, who, marrying into the family of dalle Carceri, became lord of Carystos in Eubœa.[2]

Closely associated with the fortunes of the de la Roches in central Greece were the Fauquenbergues, of the family of the castellans of St. Omer, by which name they are known in contemporary records. The Fauquenbergues had already distinguished themselves in the crusade of Godfrey de Bouillon, and one of them was created Prince of Galilee. In the second half of the twelfth century, a descendant of this St. Omer married a lady who in the old chronicles is styled "la dame de Tabarie,"[3] by whom he had four sons. Two

[1] Guy de la Roche is throughout referred to in the chronicle, as in the Latin chronicle of Bandouin d'Avesnes, as William. His real name is, however, established by the diploma signed by himself with the name of Guy.

[2] The date of her journey to Greece is established by a donation made to the abbey of Bellevaux before starting. (Guillaume, *Hist. des Sires de Salins.*)

[3] Tiberias.

of these, Hugues and Raoul de Tabarie, are mentioned among the Syrian knights who joined Baldwin at Constantinople after the capture of the city.[1] Another son, William, returned to Flanders where he married the sister of Jacques d'Avesnes. Two of their five sons, Jacques and Nicholas de St. Omer, accompanied their uncle to the crusade, and were granted fiefs by Bonifazio in Doris. Of these the elder, who became the second husband of Elizabeth des Chappes, the widow of Geoffrey Villehardouin, appears to have left no children; but Nicholas, who married Margaret of Hungary, the widow of Bonifazio, founded a family whose fortunes are closely identified with the history of Athens and Achaia. His son Bela, or Abel, by his marriage with Bonne de la Roche, became lord of the important half-barony of Thebes.

Outside the actual borders of the signory of Athens, two only of the greater baronies created by Bonifazio, namely Bodonitza and Salona, survived for any considerable time the short-lived kingdom of Thessalonica. As Margrave of Bodonitza, the Lombard Guido Pallavicini held the southern marches of Thessaly, and was warden of the pass of Thermopylæ. The border marquisate remained for upwards of a century in the hands of the Pallavicini, and eventually passed with the last heiress of the house, Guglielma, to the Venetian family of Georgi. Thomas de Stromoncourt, who had at the same time been invested with extensive territories in Locris and Phocis, established himself at Sole or Salona, on the site of the ancient Amphissa, in a beautiful and fertile valley between Parnassus and Kiona. His barony constituted the western outpost of the Franks in central Greece against the Despots of

[1] Villehardouin, ed. Du Cange, p. 168.

Epirus, in battle with whom the first Stromoncourt fell. It is probable that after the death of Bonifazio these two barons considered themselves independent of any feudal obligation, except to the Emperor. But Geoffrey Villehardouin II. seems to have acquired the overlordship of Bodonitza in return for his services to the empire, and some nexus of feudal service evidently bound the Stromoncourts to Athens. They are several times found fighting with the armies of the dukes, and in a rescript of Charles II. of Naples of the year 1294 Thomas of Salona is referred to as a vassal of Duke Guy II.

The island of Eubœa, conquered by Jacques d'Avesnes for the Marquis of Montferrat, was divided into three baronies assigned to Ravano dalle Carceri, Peccoraro de' Peccorari, and Giberto, another member of the family of dalle Carceri,[1] all of them nobles of Verona. Jacques d'Avesnes himself does not appear to have exercised any feudal rights in the island,[2] and returned soon after the death of Bonifazio to Flanders. Of the three original Terzieri of Eubœa, as they were commonly called,[3] Peccoraro returned almost immediately to Italy,[4] and Giberto died in or about 1209, so that Ravano was able without opposition to unite the whole island for a time under his single rule. He threw in his lot with the Lombards of Thessalonica in their rebellion against the Emperor Henry, and to make his position more secure entered into negotiations with the Venetians, to whom Oreos and Carystos had

[1] See note 7 in Appendix I., for the family of dalle Carceri.

[2] The letters of Innocent III. (xiii. 146 and 155), however, speak of a grant to the Templars by Ravano, Giberto, and Jacques d'Avesnes.

[3] Professor Bury's rendering of Triarch for Terziero will hereafter be generally adopted.

[4] A Peccoraro of Mercato Nuovo was podesta of Verona in 1215, and again in 1223.

been assigned in the treaty of partition.[1] Through his brothers, the bishop of Mantua and Riondello, podesta of Verona, who acted as negotiators, Ravano declared himself ready to become the liegeman of the republic for the whole island, to remit to Venice an annual sum of 2100 gold hyperpers, together with a robe of honour for the Doge, and to guarantee Venetian citizens special privileges in the harbour towns. In the meantime the Lombard barons made their submission to the Emperor and attended the second parliament of Ravenika, where Ravano also subscribed to the general act under the title of "Dominus insulæ Negripontis." The agreement with Venice was nevertheless ratified in 1211, and four years later Pietro Barbo appeared in the island as Venetian bailie. Ravano died in 1216, leaving a daughter, who was perhaps not legitimate, by his union with a certain donna Isabella.[2] His nephews Marino and Rizzardo, sons of Riondello dalle Carcere, the former of whom had married the daughter of Peccoraro, now put forward claims to his inheritance, as did also Alberto and Guglielmo da Verona, the sons of Giberto. The Venetian commissioner took in hand the settlement of their respective titles, and re-established the old tripartite division of the island, which had fallen into abeyance during Ravano's rule. To satisfy so many pretenders, each of the three areas was temporarily split into two parts; the southern barony being divided between Isabella and her daughter Berta. The northern barony of Oreos was assigned to Marino

[1] Paulo Ranusio (*della Guerra di Constantinopoli*, p. 201) states that Ravano received the investiture of Eubœa from Dandolo himself. Venice, it seems, claimed the island under the partition treaty, while Bonifazio disposed of it as the conqueror. Hence the ensuing complications.

[2] Ravano appears to have had relations with this "donna Isabella" during the lifetime of her first husband, whose identity is not known.

and Rizzardo, and the central to Guglielmo and Alberto da Verona. It was, however, provided that when any one of the enfeoffed partners should die, his or her half-barony should revert to the survivors. Chalcis or Negripont, the capital of the island, was in theory to be common to the three baronies, but it was not long before the Venetian bailies became all-powerful there. In 1236 the Emperor Baldwin II. transferred the over-lordship over Eubœa to Geoffrey Villehardouin II., and in spite of the practical control which Venice eventually established over the affairs of the island, the Princes of Achaia remained the suzerains, though latterly only in name, as long as the Frankish state continued to exist.

No documents throwing any light on the history of Eubœa during the period between 1216 and 1255 are known to exist. The conflicting claims to supremacy of Venice and Achaia, and the constant intermarriages which took place in the families of the Triarchs make the feudal history of Eubœa extremely perplexing, and it is not least obscure at that point in the reign of William Villehardouin, when a disputed succession to the barony of Oreos brought on a disastrous war which crippled the resources of the Franks, just at a moment when the reviving power of the Greeks menaced the very existence of the new principalities.

One other petty state, which became a feudatory of Achaia, calls for a brief introductory notice. From the letters of Innocent III. we learn that at the time of the Frankish conquest a certain Maio, described as Count of Cephalonia and Zante, engaged himself to the Pope to renounce the illegitimate traffic of piracy. The last letter in which he is referred to belongs to the year 1207. In 1236 we are informed by Albericus that the Count of Cephalonia and Zante, who had married Anna

Comnena, sister of the Despot of Epirus, became the liegeman of Geoffrey Villehardouin II. Maio is probably Matteo, and there is reason to believe that he belonged to the family of Orsini, and was a grandson of the well-known Margaritone of Brindisi, who was made Count of Malta and grand Admiral of Sicily. There is no reference to the Counts of Cephalonia in the chronicle until the year 1258, when Richard, who played an important part in the history of Achaia, is first introduced.[1]

It has been assumed that the story of the creation of the twelve baronies of Morea, as recorded in the chronicle, is nothing but a local adaptation of the romances which celebrated the twelve peers of Charlemagne, whose state afforded the traditional model of a feudal court. The Assises of Romania, however, bear witness that, when the Neapolitan house of Anjou succeeded to the reversion of Achaia, twelve peers actually existed in the principality, with power of life and death, and the exclusive right to construct fortresses.[2] The old records must have been accessible to the chronicler, writing not much more than a century after the conquest, when the history of the earliest distribution of fiefs can scarcely have been forgotten, and when the families of some of the original incumbents still survived. The list of baronies there enumerated cannot well have been borrowed from a

[1] His signature is affixed to a document of the year 1264, which exists in the archives of Zante.

[2] Canciani, *Barbarorum leges antiquæ*, Tom. iii. Venice, 1785. Liber consuetudinum Imperii Romaniæ. "Nessuno baron feudatorio, chi che se sia, puo edificar castello in lo principato di Achaia senza licentia del principe, salvo se lo sera signor o ber di derra, *o de li dodici baroni*, li quali ha dreto e zusto impero, lo qual puo edificar castello e castelli in la propria terra. Ber di terra e clamato quelli cue ha jurisdition de sangue e Vescovado in la sua terra." At this period, of course, the twelve baronies included Naxos, Negripont, Bodonitza, and Athens.

subsequent period, or it would have included other centres in territories subsequently acquired. Moreover the geographical position of the baronies corresponds with the early history and progress of the conquest as we know it. There appears, therefore, to be reasonable ground for believing that the author derived his information from some register of a date approximately near to that to which he assigns it, and that this distribution of the conquered territories was made by the first Villehardouin, if not by Champlitte himself.

The details which follow with regard to the topography of the baronies will inevitably appear somewhat tedious to the general reader. To the traveller in Greece they may, however, serve to stimulate a new secondary interest in sites which are often passed over in the exclusive pursuit of Hellenic antiquity, and to the student of the Frankish domination a brief review of the system of feudal partition is indispensable.

There were at the time of the Frankish conquest twelve imperial fortresses in the Peloponnese: Patras and Corinth at either end of the gulf; Pondicocastro,[1] Arkadia, and Modon on the western coast; Nauplia, Argos, and Monemvasia on or near the eastern coast; Coron and Calamata in the south on the Messenian gulf; and Nikli and Lacedæmonia in the interior. Of these the first to fall into the hands of Champlitte were Patras, Pondico, Arkadia, Modon, Coron, and Calamata, the possession of which secured the occupation of the western Morea. Arkadia and Calamata, united to become the premier barony, were appropriately conferred upon Villehardouin. The fortress of Calamata protected the rich valley of the Pamisus

[1] *i.e.* Rat-castle. At an earlier period it was known by the more classical name of Myopolis.

from the raids of the mountaineers of Taygetus, while Arkadia watched over the long stretch of coast which forms the Gulf of Cyparissia, extending northward to the harbour of Catacolo, itself protected by the castle of Pondico, which was now strengthened and renamed Beauvoir. The third Villehardouin eventually bestowed Arkadia as a separate barony upon Vilain d'Aunoy, who settled in the Morea after the expulsion of the Franks from Constantinople, but Calamata remained the appanage of the Villehardouin family until its final extinction.

Pondicocastro was included in the domain of the Prince, while Modon and Coron were claimed by, and finally transferred to Venice. Patras, on the other hand, was constituted one of the greater baronies, and was bestowed on Guillaume le Alemant, a name well known in the annals of this period in Cyprus, and later in Corfu and Naples. His special duties were to guard the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth against the disembarkation of an enemy from Epirus, Acarnania, and Ætolia, and also to secure the plains of western Achaia against raiders descending from the mountains of the interior. Behind Patras successive ridges rise in tiers to the lofty summit of Voïdhia, the ancient Panachaichon, and beyond Voïdhia again towers the still loftier range of Erymanthus, shutting in the wild Arcadian highlands whence the lawless Slavs had terrorised over the feeble folk of the coast-land. To Patras no supplementary fiefs were attached, as the barony was sufficiently well endowed with the revenues of the rich commercial city.[1] It was at the same time made the seat of the Latin archbishop, and

[1] The Aragonese chronicle, however, assigns twenty-four fees to the barony of Patras (§ 117).

the temporal and spiritual authorities at once fell out over their respective rights, inasmuch as the site, which le Alemant, on the plea of military exigency, appropriated for his castle was occupied by the episcopal church. The bishop's vicar who formulated a protest was grossly ill-treated by the rude soldiers of the cross, who cut off his nose.[1] Before long, however, the archbishop obtained the reversion of the barony itself, and his successors achieved what the first incumbent, Antelm, strove for in vain, independence of the Patriarchate at Constantinople.

Eastward of Patras, to command the best harbour on the southern shore of the gulf, was established the barony of Vostitza, the medieval name of Ægion, where in ancient days the Achæan league held its deliberations. In addition to the port, eight knights' fees were assigned to Hugues de Charpigny, but only half of his domain appears to have been situated on the gulf, while the remaining fiefs were in Laconia.[2] His duties were to watch the road between Patras and Corinth, which was still in the hands of the Greeks at the time of his investiture. The barony remained in the hands of the Charpigny family until after the middle of the fourteenth century, when the last surviving member, Guglielma, the wife of Philippe de Joinville, sold Vostitza to Princess Marie of Bourbon, from whom it passed into the hands of the Florentine Acciajuoli.

Inland from Vostitza, resting on the slopes of Mount Chelmos, lay Calavryta, with its headquarters at or near the site of the ancient Cynætha, on the banks of the beautiful Buraicus. With this barony, established to protect the rich coastland from the

[1] *Ep. Inn. III.*, xiii. 163, 164, 170. [2] See note on pp. 119, 120.

mountaineers of the interior, twelve knights' fees were assigned to Othon de Tournay. Three generations at least of Tournays figure in the chronicle, but the barony itself was one of the first to fall back into the hands of the Greeks, who recovered it in 1262. The neighbouring country abounds in springs, and it is from one of these that the name of Calavryta is derived. It has been from early times the seat of flourishing Greek monasteries, the greatest of which, Megaspelion, is said to date from the fourth century. Unfortunately no records exist there of the epoch of Frankish occupation. On a hill opposite to the height which is crowned by the castle of Calavryta are the ruins of a smaller fortress, which still bears the name of Tremoula, evidently derived from the family of La Tremouille, who held the adjoining barony of Chalandritza. The appellation might seem to suggest that it was at this point that their frontiers met, but Chalandritza was a small barony the limits of which can hardly have extended so far to the west, and it is more probable that this small outpost was built after the Greeks had recovered Calavryta, as a point of observation, to prevent them from raiding Achaian territory.

Chalandritza, with its four knights' fees, occupied the valley of the Peirus, the ancient vale of Pharæ, between Voïdhia on the north and Olenos and Mavrovouni on the south, holding the mountain road from Patras into Elis. The name survives to-day in a considerable village on the slopes above the right bank of the Peirus. Some ten miles to the north is a fortress occupying a strong position, known to the country folk as Sainocastro, or "The Tottering Castle," which was probably the residence of the lords of

Chalandritza. At Avla, ten miles or so to the south-west, is another stronghold, commanding the pass through the Black Mountains, the western outpost of the barony. Towards the end of the thirteenth century Chalandritza passed by the marriage of a daughter, the last representative here of the Tremouilles, to Giorgio Ghisi, and after his death was divided, perhaps by the marriage of his daughters, between the families of dalle Carceri and Zaccaria.

The institution of the two great baronies of Matagriffon or Akova and Carytena has already been briefly described. In so mountainous a country as the Peloponnese the main lines of communication follow the more important rivers, winding through deep gorges which again open out into broader valleys, where cultivation is easy and remunerative without the laborious process of terracing the steep hillsides. It was of the first importance to have control of these highways through the passes, together with the good lands which for the most part border their courses. The river Alpheius, which traverses the rich country first occupied by the Franks, to enter the Gulf of Cyparissia a little south of Catacolo, is formed by the union of two main branches. The southern branch, which is the Alpheius proper,[1] rises in the spurs of Taygetus, and running in a north-westerly direction through the plain of Megalopolis, pierces the mountains on its way to the sea at Carytena. The northern branch, the Ladon, issuing from Lake Pheneos, through the subterraneous passages known as Katavothra, the mythical work of Heracles, descends in a wide sweep from the highland plateau of upper Arcadia to join the main stream near the border of Elis. These Arcadian

[1] Now the Rouphias.

ranges were the stronghold of the Slav immigrants, who, acknowledging no fixed government, subsisted largely on the plunder of the cultivated valleys. After the Frankish invasion, however, they had, especially in the region of Escorta which followed the gorges of the river Gortynius up to the mountain gate at Carytena, made common cause with the Greeks against the new comers.

To keep these tribes in subjection, to hold the valley of the Ladon and ensure peace in the fertile lands which border the Alpheius was the province of the Baron of Akova, whose domain included neither town nor city, and who therefore received twenty-four knights' fees for the maintenance of so important a strategical position. A region on the left bank of the Ladon, adjacent to the ancient Thelpusa, still bears the name of Akoves, and here, on a steep hill now known by the name of Galata, not far from the village of Vyzikiou, stand the ruins of a medieval castle called by the country folk the Castro of Monovysa. There is little doubt that these are the ruins of the stronghold which bore the significant name of Matagriffon,[1] built, according to the chronicle, after the fall of Monemvasia in the reign of William Villehardouin by Gautier de Rosières, the son apparently of the first Baron. This particular region is full of Frankish remains and reminiscences. At Vlongos, a few miles to the south, there is another castle dating from the same period; at Glanitza a bridge over the Ladon known as the "Lady's bridge" is of Frankish construction, and a hill in the district of Akoves has

[1] Or Mathegriphon. *Mata* may be connected with the root of the Italian *ammazare*, *i.e.* "kill Greek," or perhaps comes from the French *Mater*, to hold in check. The name occurs in other localities, for instance at Messina in Sicily.

some ruins known as Vretembouga,[1] which were once no doubt a stronghold of the brethren of the Temple. The place itself is legend-haunted, and the country people speak of a mysterious Amazon who occupied the towers of Monovysa and issued forth at night surrounded by her warriors through a subterraneous passage; a dim tradition perhaps of the clandestine meetings of the unfortunate Margaret Villehardouin, the Lady of Akova, with the chivalrous Nicholas III., de St. Omer.

But little is recorded in the chronicle of the Barons of Akova. A second Rosières succeeded the companion in arms of Champlitte about the middle of the thirteenth century, and built the castle of Matagriffon. He left no heir, and his niece, Marguerite de Neuilly, the only daughter of his sister, who had married the hereditary marshal, became the heiress of Akova. How she was defrauded of her inheritance, which was bestowed by William Villehardouin on his daughter Margaret, but eventually obtained the retrocession of eight knights' fees in deference to the force of public opinion, and the influence of her husband, Jean de St. Omer, the subsequent history will show. Matagriffon was taken by the Greeks in 1320.

The barony of Escorta[2] or Carytena[3] included all

[1] Buchon, *G. C. et la M.*, p. 493. Leake, *Morea*, ii. pp. 103 and 105. Vretembouga is a corruption of Fre Templou.

[2] The name, Escorta though applied to the barony in a limited sense, is also frequently used in the chronicle as synonymous with Arcadia.

[3] Καρύταινα may be, like Escorta, derived from Gortys through an irregular accusative form, but the accent does not point to such an etymology, nor does the form justify the attribution of a Frankish origin to the name. Dr. Schmidt suggests as a possible etymology καρύδιον, a grove of walnut trees, which gave a local appellation to the hill on which the Baron's castle was built.

the mountain region of Arkadia south of Akova, the defile of the Gortynius, the coldest of rivers, according to Pausanias, and the narrow gateway through which the Alpheius enters the mountains from the plateau of Megalopolis. Here lay one of the chief thoroughfares from the eastern to the western Peloponnese, a winding gorge through which the river eventually enters the broader valleys which lean down past Olympia towards the coastlands of Elis. The barony constituted for its defence and control was only a little smaller than that of Akova, and twenty-two knights' fees were assigned to Hugues de Bruyères,[1] a knight of Champagne, who married the daughter of his sovereign prince the first Villehardouin, after whom his son Geoffrey of Carytena was named. Geoffrey, who is, next to William Villehardouin, the most conspicuous figure in the romantic story of the chronicle, and the favourite hero of Frankish tradition, married the daughter of the first Duke of Athens, Guy de la Roche, but left no heir to his barony, which, after his death, was absorbed in the domain of the Prince, who granted one half of it to his widow on her second marriage to Hugues de Brienne.

It is probable that Araklovon, restored and renamed Bucelet, was the first baronial seat, for the castle of Carytena was not built until nearly fifty years after the conquest. The Alpheius enters the mountains between the slopes of Mount Lycæus, the Arcadian Olympus, and a high ridge known as Mount St. Elias. A lofty crag, joined to the latter by a concave saddle of rock, shuts in the valley, dropping sheer to the dark ravine through which the green river tumbles into foam among the boulders. At the base of the crag is an

[1] The French chronicle calls him Geoffroi, the Greek Hugues.

ancient bridge of the Frankish period, with a chapel built into one of its piers. Clambering up its steep side, and filling the hollow of the hill which joins the crag to St. Elias, is a village with a few buildings, which may even date from the same epoch. The site is that of the ancient Benthe, of which the castle heights were the Acropolis. The upper portion of the rock is precipitous on every side, but a bridle path cut in its eastern face ascends past the ruins of a church to a gate in the battlements. A second gate follows. Within, the precincts enclosed in the rampart are not very extensive. The walls of the baronial hall are still standing, and the huge cisterns, vaulted in the rock, remain half choked with fallen rubble. The towers are broken, the machicolations of the curtain have all disappeared, but from the sentry's walk one may still look down a sheer descent that turns the head. East and south-east this crag-built eyrie surveys the mountain-girdled plain of Megalopolis, westward it watches the gorges of the Alpheius. It is not yet a century since Kolokotrones, the insurgent leader, defied the armies of Ibrahim Pasha from the walls, where now the lentisk bushes top the stone heaps above the yellow irises in grass-grown courts, and still, as few other ruins can, this castle on the rugged height epitomises the suggestive spirit of the feudal age and the romance of the conquistador.

An outpost or subfief of the barony of Carytena was no doubt the fortress of St. Helena, on a spur of Mount Lycæus, occupying the site of the Cynourian Theisoa, the modern Lavda, and St. George[1] in the

[1] Not to be confounded with the castle of St. George at great Arachova, on the borders of Tegea and Laconia.

village of Kramvovo, near Karyaes, as well as perhaps Crèvecœur.[1]

South-east of Carytena, in the plain of Megalopolis, but near its southern limits, was the barony of Veligosti, including only four knights' fees. The town of Veligosti, which was a place of some importance when the crusaders annexed it, was about one day's march from Sparta in the direction of Carytena. This would place it in the neighbourhood of Leondari, which has the ruins of a medieval fortress, but is not mentioned by name in any record of so early a date. It was near the long spinal ridge of Makryplagi, through which a pass opens into the road to Calamata, on which Leondari is situated, but it is recorded that Veligosti itself was situated on the plains on a low hill.[2] Buchon has identified its site with some ruins near the village of Samara, about a mile distant from Leondari on the Xerillo-potamo, one of the streams which unite to form the Carytena branch of the Alpheius.[3] The town was no doubt subsequently transferred to the stronger natural position at Leondari. This barony was assigned to Matthieu de Mons, of the family of Valaincourt, and was ceded by his son to William de la Roche, his brother-in-law. After the Greeks retook Veligosti, the seat of the barony was transferred to Damala in Argolis, but the name was retained by this branch of the de la Roches, until the last male representative perished at the battle of the Cephissus in 1311, and

[1] I have not been able to identify the site of Crèvecœur, which was in Escorta, and at no great distance from St. Helena. (See vol. ii. p. 45, and note.)

[2] *Στὸν κάμπον κοίτονται*, *G. C.*, line 1754, referring to Nikli and Veligosti; and *εἰς χαμοβοῦνι 'κοίτετον*, line 2025.

[3] Buchon, *G. C. et la M.*, p. 481. See also Leake, *Morea*, vol. ii. p. 44.

with his daughter the title passed to her husband's family, the Zaccarias of Chios.

South of Leondari, on a detached rock which springs from the roots of Mount Hellenitza in the Makry-plagi, is the castle of Gardiki, now known as the Palæocastro of Kokala,[1] a name in itself grimly suggestive of battles long ago. The view from the ramparts embraces the Gulf of Calamata to the south, and to the west the waters of the Gulf of Cyparissia, seen across successive ridges of mountain beyond the northern Messenian plain. It guarded the pass to Calamata, as the fortress on Chelmos watched over the road to Sparta, and possibly both of them were outposts of the lord of Veligosti. Here it was that two centuries later the population of Leondari took refuge before the advancing Turks; in vain, for Mohammed II. marched into Makry-plagi, took Gardiki, and massacred the fugitives. Hence its ill-omened name.

From a passage in the chronicle referring to the events of the year 1265, it appears that the castle of Gardiki was then not yet built.[2] It might otherwise not unreasonably have been contended that Gardiki was the headquarters of another barony which presents a difficult problem to the topographer, namely Gritzena, which is mentioned once only, as situated in a region known as Lakkoi, and as being bestowed on "Messire Luc."[3]

[1] = Bones, in Romaic.

[2] *G. C.*, line 5429.

[3] The word Lakkos means a deep ditch or pit, and might well be applied to the precipitous defiles leading from the Makry-plagi into the plain of Messenia. Bishop Dorotheus, writing at the end of the seventeenth century, speaks of Lakkoi in connection with the mountain of the Melings, *i.e.* Taygetus, of which range Makry-plagi is an offshoot. Leake places the district south of Calamata, but does not advance any convincing arguments in favour of his

Westward, at the apex of a triangle, of which the base is drawn from Carytena to Leondari, at the entrance to the passes leading from the plain of Tripolitza into Laconia, stood the town of Nikli, which was one of the twelve fortified posts in the Peloponnese under the Byzantine administration. Its situation at the edge of the plain corresponds to the site of the ancient Tegea.[1] It appears to have been a town of some importance, with high walls and towers, which offered a stout resistance to the crusaders. With the addition, therefore, of six knights' fees it constituted a barony of some importance, and from its position it controlled the important thoroughfare from Argos to Sparta. Nothing, however, is known with certainty of the Messire Guillaume who received the investiture of Nikli, nor of his descendants.[2]

The most easterly outpost of the principality during this first period was the barony of Gheraki. South-east of Sparta, on the heights which rise from the left bank of the Eurotas, the ruined castle of the Nivelets is still conspicuous, occupying the site of the ancient Geronthræ. To the north are the mountains of Cynouria, inhabited by the Tzaconians, a race whose curious language has long puzzled the etymologist.[3] On the other side of the Eurotas valley rises the

topography. Buchon considers this ephemeral barony to have been in the northern plain of Messenia, near the modern villages of Malta and Meligala, on to which the road from Veligosti descends through the pass in Makryplagi.

[1] Leake considers the church of Palaio-Episcopi on the site of Tegea, which is older than the thirteenth century, to have been the principal church of Nikli. (*Pel.*, p. 152.)

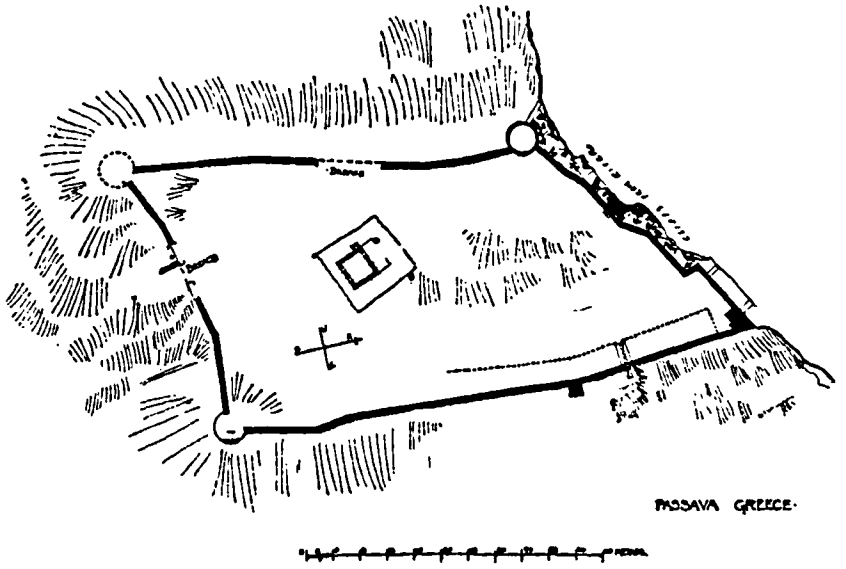
[2] Hopf gives a brief genealogical table, with query appended, of the family of Morlay, with which he identifies Messire Guillaume, and mentions a Robert de Niclinum in the year 1387 (*Cron. G.-R.*), I do not know upon what authority.

[3] See App. I. note 8.

splendid chain of Taygetus, peopled at this period by the Slavonic Melings. To protect the fertile plains from the mountain dwellers upon either side was the task of the high feudatory invested with the four fiefs composing the barony of Gheraki. Lacedæmonia itself, like Nikli one of the Byzantine fortresses, opposed the invading Franks, who brought siege trains to batter down the walls, and the city only surrendered on the express condition that the property and privileges of its inhabitants should be respected. The medieval city, the circuit of whose walls can still be traced, extended over four hills on the banks of the Eurotas at some distance from the recognised site of ancient Sparta. Mistra, which in the middle of the thirteenth century replaced the older Lacedæmonia, lies three or four miles to the west, on a spur of the Taygetus range, whence its commanding position dominates the garden lands which border the Eurotas. It was the creation and for a short time the favourite residence of William Villehardouin, to whose reign the story of its foundation more properly belongs. Gheraki passed back to the Greeks, with the rest of the Frankish acquisitions in Laconia, as the price of the Prince of Achaia's release from imprisonment, after his defeat and surrender at Pelagonia, and other domains were found for the descendants of the original feudatory in the neighbourhood of Vostitza.

In the Tænarian promontory which terminates in Cape Matapan was established the most southerly outpost of the principality, the barony of Passava or Passavant. The long chain of Taygetus, broken further to the north by the pass which leads through the Langadha from Sparta to Calamata and the Messenian plain, is pierced by a second defile from east to west,

connecting southern Laconia and the harbour of Gythion with the little port of Itylo or Areopolis, under the stony plateau or terrace which lies west of the mountain wall and is known as Inner Mani.[1] It is probable that the Ezerites and Melings, who occupied the range at the time of the Frankish conquest, had not altogether absorbed the stony wilderness of Inner Mani, whose inhabitants proudly boast that they



are descended from the ancient Spartans, and that the successive invaders of Greece have never penetrated into their rocky fastnesses.[2] Into the heart of the mountains, between the Slavs and the Maniotes, and dominating the roads from Laconia to the west, was

[1] The modern province of Maina or Mani is divided into Exo, Kato, and Mesa or Inner Mani. It extends to the Messenian plain on the N,W., and as far as Gythion on the N.E. Inner Mani is popularly known as *Kakoboulia*, "The land of the evil counsel," from the lawless character with which its inhabitants are credited. See App. I. note 9.

[2] Hopf, however, is of opinion that the Maniotes are a mixture of Slav and Hellene, in which the former element predominates.

thrust the barony which was bestowed with four knights' fees as the post of honour and danger on Jean de Neuilly, the marshal, whose battle-cry its name significantly perpetuates. The castle itself was built, according to the chronicle, early in the reign of William Villehardouin. It stands on the site of an ancient citadel,[1] the old foundations of which, of the order of construction known as Pelasgian, are plainly visible on the eastern face, and the base of the rock is skirted on two sides by a mountain stream, which finds its way to the Laconian Gulf. All trace of a path up the hill, which is crowned by its machicolated walls, has been lost in the tangle of brushwood and scrub which grows at will around and among the ruins, but the circuit of the curtain, flanked by round towers, is still complete. The greater side of its irregular oblong is not much less than two hundred yards in length. The entrance is very narrow, a tunnel high enough to admit a rider on horseback, but only one at a time. Within the ample space enclosed are the remains of many buildings, one of which has a spiral red-sandstone stair, and extensive cisterns still collect and hold the drainage of the rains. Vallonea oak, arbutus, and lentisk have invaded broken hall and crumbling bastion, and choke the empty courts.[2] The site was admirably chosen. The ramparts command a view of the whole Laconian Gulf from Malea to Matapan, and watch the northern passages through the Black Mountains, while beneath the steep hillside runs the only road which leads into Mani from the east. Prince

[1] Identified by Leake with the site of the Homeric Las.

[2] Passava was occupied by the Spaniards in 1601. In 1670 it was repaired and garrisoned by the Turks. In 1685 Morosini took it and destroyed its defensive power. The construction now remaining is Turkish in its main features.

William himself added other fortresses to overawe the mountaineers. The Lord of Passava, by virtue of his office as marshal, which was made hereditary in his family, commanded the armies of Achaia. But the second Jean de Neuilly, who married the heiress of the second Baron of Akova, left only a daughter to succeed him, and by her third marriage the title and office passed to the family of St. Omer.

Besides the twelve baronies thus mapped out, ample estates had been reserved for the Prince. The conquerors, who were numerically weak, endeavoured, as has already been pointed out, to secure the adherence of the local populations by respecting and guaranteeing established titles to property. But the great tracts of territory long fallen out of cultivation were practically no man's land, and confiscations no doubt took place of the estates belonging to the archons or primates who had opposed the progress of the crusaders. All the imperial domain in the Morea was also at their disposal, and from such was constituted the new domain of the Prince, who had established his royal residence at Andravida in the rich plain of Elis, which was first brought under subjection.

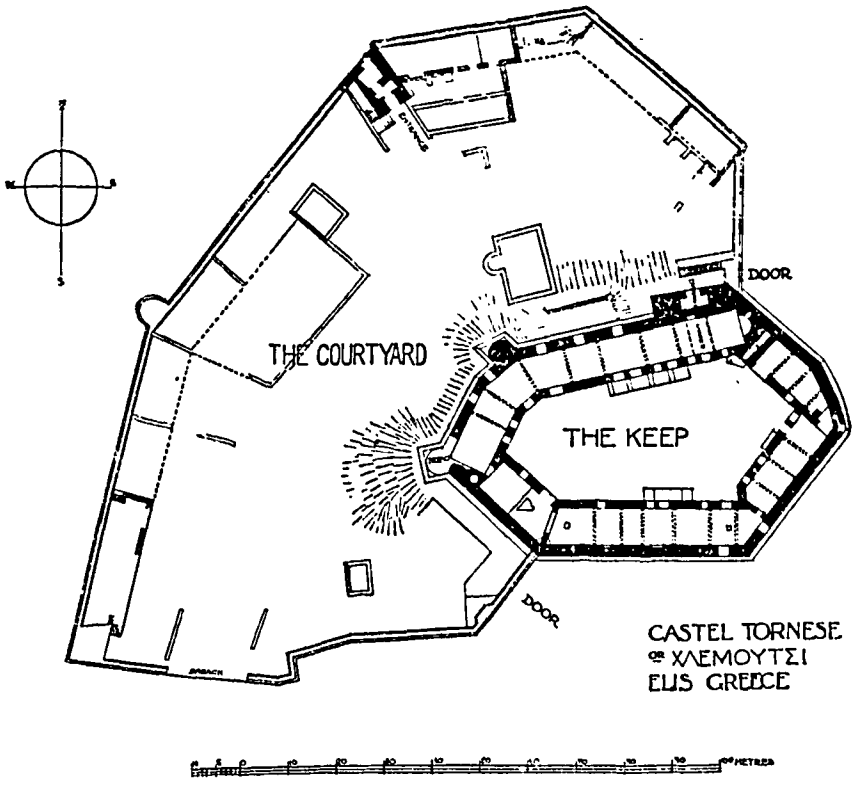
Andravida was a place of importance before the arrival of the Franks, and the chief town of the most extensive and most fertile lowland region in the mountainous peninsula. It is a few miles inland from the port of Clarenza, the S. Zaccaria of pre-Frankish times.[1] The river Peneus, which gathers its waters from the folds of Erymanthus, flows a few miles to the south, and many smaller streams intersect the alluvial fields, where to-day a rich currant harvest is gathered. The modern town or village, surrounded by luxuriant olive

[1] St. Zaccarie, "la ou la ville de Clarence est ores." (*F. C.*, p. 40.)

groves, has preserved its medieval name, but nothing is left of its historic buildings save the choir and apse, with two side chapels, of the Gothic church of St. Sophia, built by the Princes of Achaia to be the episcopal church of the bishop of Olena or Olenos, the headquarters of whose see was transferred hither from the neighbourhood of Pyrgos. The base of the outer wall can still be traced throughout its entire circuit, and the fine vaulting of the ruin, the high pointed arches, so distinct from all Greek or Byzantine construction, still convey some impression of its former importance. Six of the grey granite columns which supported the arches of the nave were until recently lying on the site, but four of them have now been utilised to form the portico of a church in the neighbouring village of Lekhaina. It was in this edifice that the princes assembled their parliaments. Of the memorial church dedicated to St. James, which became the mausoleum of the Villehardouins, hardly any trace remains, although the site can still be identified.

Andravida itself was not fortified, but the neighbouring harbour of Clarenza was strengthened by artificial defences, and its ruined towers still crumble on the shore among remains of the yet older Hellenic substructions of Cyllene. Lying more directly on the highway from the Adriatic to the east than Patras, which was, moreover, at certain seasons of the year difficult of access on account of the violence of the north-east winds from the Gulf of Corinth, it became under the Princes of Achaia the chief commercial harbour of the western Peloponnese, and the weights and measures of Clarenza were recognised as a standard throughout Romania. Here the Franciscans

early established themselves, building an important monastery and a church, which also served as a meeting-place for feudal parliaments, and here was established the high court of justice of the principality.[1] The great castle of Clairmont or Chlemoutzi,



distant about an hour's ride, became its citadel, and indeed the area of Clarenza seems to have included the castle which was at times the Prince's residence. Diplomas are dated from Clarenza, and the coins minted in the castle, which thus acquired its Italian name of Castel Tornese, are all inscribed "De Clarencia." Thus Andravida, Clarenza, and Clairmont,

[1] Assises of Romania, Art. 177.

mutually interdependent, may be looked upon as forming the capital establishment of the Morea.[1]

Other domains of the Princes of Achaia referred to in the chronicle are, in Elis, Vlisiri or La Glisière,[2] Roviata, and Gastouni, a name suggesting a Frankish origin, and surviving in that of a village a little south of Andravida. They had also estates in Messenia at Nisi, or the Island, near the mouth of the river Pamisus, and again at Druges, the modern Androusa, near the foot of Mount Ithome, where also a second high court of justice had its seat.[3] Later on Mistra became a favourite residence of William Villehardouin, until he was forced to surrender it to the Emperor Palæologus. The castles at Elis and Pondico, Beau-Regard and Beauvoir, appear to have remained in the domain or under the immediate control of the Prince, and Calamata was a personal appanage which could be assigned by testamentary disposition.

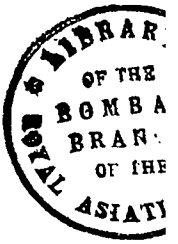
Such, as far as can be gathered from the scanty records available, were the early dispositions taken by the Franks to establish their hold on the country. By a strange irony of fate a Lombard marquis was warden of the pass of Thermopylæ, a knight of Flanders was lord in seven-gated Thebes, and a Venetian adventurer ruled over the Cyclades. The Barons of Escorta, as they hastened to the parliaments at Andravida, rode unwittingly over the sacred precinct of Olympia, lying deep below the sands which Cladeus and Alpheius had deposited over its fallen glory. But the great temple on the Acropolis at Athens, re-dedicated to the virgin

[1] It is a tradition that the title of the Duke of Clarence is derived from Clarenza. See App. I. note 10.

[2] Vlisiri afterwards gave its name to a province of the Frankish principality corresponding roughly with the area of Triphylia.

[3] Assises of Romania, Art. 177.

worship of another faith, was still untouched by the hand of time, and many a shrine of ancient mystery still stood in places long desolate, the witness of an age when there were giants in the earth, to whom a dim tradition assigned the name of Hellenes. Even these rude warriors of the west must have been conscious of some touch of awe or wonder, when they first explored the great walled citadels of ancient days, which still crowned the classic hills and served as foundations or quarries for the grim feudal fortresses, which rose up through the thirteenth century among the ranges of Arcadia and Messenia, round bleak Lycæus, the legendary cradle of Zeus, or in the mountain uplands once the particular haunt of Pan.



CHAPTER V

WILLIAM VILLEHARDOUIN

At the time when he inherited the principality William Villehardouin was a widower, having lost his first wife, the daughter of Narjaud de Toucy,[1] soon after his marriage. In the last words which the chronicler puts into the mouth of the dying Geoffrey he enjoins upon his brother the duty of marrying again and ensuring the succession in Achaia. William was not slow to follow this wise counsel, and his second marriage with Carintana dalle Carceri was one of ambition. Carintana was the only child of Rizzardo, lord of Oreos and one-sixth of Eubœa, who died about the year 1220, while she was still an infant. The conventions signed by Venice with the Terzieri had probably never been recognised by the Princes of Achaia, who resented the growing influence of the republic in an island over which they claimed to be lords paramount, and as the daughter of the elder nephew of Ravano, Carintana could put forward pretensions which a powerful champion might successfully vindicate. For the moment, however, the necessity of completing the conquest of the peninsula made it politic for William to dissemble his ambitious schemes, and to maintain friendly relations with the feudatories beyond the isthmus.

[1] Narjaud married a daughter of Theodore Vranas and Agnes of France.

Only a few miles north, and still in sight of Cape Malea on the eastern coast of Laconia, a rocky promontory juts out into the Ægean. The sea has here encroached upon the land[1] and practically isolated the solitary mountain which is connected with the mainland by a long stone bridge or causeway. A castle crowns its peak. A little village lies below, enclosed in walls which converge towards the crest. The position must have been well-nigh impregnable before the days of gunpowder. In ancient times this sea fortress protected the haven of Epidaurus Limera, situated itself three miles inland. In the middle ages it was known as Monemvasia or Malvoisie.[2] This strong post had hitherto remained in the undisputed possession of the Greeks, serving as a rallying-point for the fleets of Nicæa and keeping open communications with the Slavonic tribes in the mountains of Laconia, who had not yet accepted the rule of the Franks.

The Prince accordingly summoned his feudatories, the lord of Athens, the barons of Negripont, the Count of Cephalonia, the Duke of Naxos, and the lords of the islands to accompany him to the siege of Monemvasia, whither also came four Venetian galleys from Coron, to blockade the harbour from the sea. The Chronicle of Morea is the only authority for this episode,[3] which, as was pointed out in an earlier chapter, is represented as following immediately after

[1] Leake, *Pel.*, p. 283.

[2] Monembasia, pronounced Monemvasia, gave its name to the Malvoisie or Malmsey grape once cultivated on the mainland and still grown in the neighbouring island of Santorin.

[3] There is a lacuna in the French chronicle, just after the account of the opening of the blockade. The details of the surrender, and the account of the construction of the castles in Taygetus is only found in the Greek text, lines 2889–3042.

operations against Corinth, Argos, and Nauplia. While the transfer of the latter operations, which took place some forty years earlier, from the reign of Geoffrey I. to that of William, proves how little reliance can be placed on the chronicle for any but contemporary facts, there is no doubt that the annexation of Monemvasia, which was eventually restored to the Emperor Michael Palæologus in 1262 as a portion of the territories which William Villehardouin had himself acquired after the original conquest, properly belongs to this period and, in the absence of any other authority, the circumstantial account given in the Greek metrical version must be accepted.

The fortress, we are told, had been well provisioned in anticipation of the siege, and made a stout resistance. As it would not yield to blockade, the Prince constructed engines and poured showers of projectiles day and night into the town, but the rock itself they could not reach. For three years the defenders held out, but at last, being reduced to extremities by hunger, they offered to accept honourable terms of capitulation. The Prince agreed to the conditions submitted, namely, that the inhabitants should remain free men, that their property should not be confiscated, and that they should be excused from all military obligations save that of service with their own ships, for which they should receive adequate indemnity. When these stipulations had been signed, sealed, and ratified with oaths, the three archons, Mamonas, Daimonojannis, and Sophianus presented the keys of the fortress to Villehardouin, who received the notables of Monemvasia with great courtesy and ceremony. He presented them with horses and robes of scarlet and gold, and granted them estates in the

district of Vatica.[1] All the inhabitants of Tzaconia and Vatica then made their submission, and the Prince dismissed the feudal levies, retiring with his personal following into winter quarters at Lacedæmonia. From there he visited many points in the neighbouring country, and in the course of these expeditions was greatly impressed with the strategic value of a certain position on a spur of Taygetus, where he constructed a castle, which he called Mizithra or Mistra from the local name of the hill. This castle commanded the entrance to the defiles occupied by the Melings, whose villages extended southward of the pass along the range of Taygetus. He built a second castle at the extremity of the promontory of Mani or Maina near "a grim cavern high up above a headland," to which he gave the name of Grant-Maigne, and a third on the western shore near Cisterna which the Franks called Beaufort and the Greeks Leftro.[2] The Slavonic tribes of the mountains, overawed by this Trilateral, made their submission and were guaranteed the exemption from tribute and the other privileges which their ancestors had enjoyed under the Byzantine emperors.

These operations completed the subjugation of the Peloponnese, which Villehardouin ruled over from sea to sea for the space of some twelve years. It is probable that the three years' period assigned for the duration of the siege of Monemvasia is an exaggeration, but in other respects there are no grounds for doubting the general accuracy of the narrative. Not only were Mistra, Maigne, and Beaufort built at this time, but, according to the chronicle, many of the principal castles

[1] A region in the eastern promontory of the Morea, north of Cape Malea.
[2] See App. I. note 11 for the topography of the castles of Mani.

of Morea, such as Carytena, Matagriffon, Passavant and Gheraki date from the period of peace and prosperity which ensued on the surrender of the last Greek post in the peninsula, and the submission of the Slavonic tribes in Laconia. The Franks had learned many lessons in the art of constructing defences from the great Byzantine fortresses in the east, with which the crusades had made them familiar. The massive square keep, or the shell keep with the simple curtain-wall of the primitive western stronghold, which had succeeded to the earlier mound forts with their wooden towers, was now modified by the study of the eastern castles. A second and a third line of outer defences was added, and the curtain of the walls was strengthened by towers set at intervals in its circuit. The wall itself in fact became the main line of defence, the donjon serving merely as a last resort in extremity, or as a strong bulwark set in the most exposed situation to bear the brunt of an attack. The wooden galleries thrown out to command the ground at the foot of the towers were also replaced by stone machicolations supported on corbels, after the method employed in Syria, where timber was scarcer than stone. At the end of the twelfth century the round tower had begun to take the place of the square shape and, experience having shown that this form was better calculated to withstand the mine and ram, it was generally adopted in the thirteenth. The Greek castles, which display great ingenuity in the adaptation of constructive skill to the natural features of the sites they occupy, are interesting and instructive in the historical development of fortification at a period when the advantages of war were all on the side of the defenders.

The new Lacedæmon created by Villehardouin at Mizithra[1] or Mistra, which, so long as it remained in the hands of the Franks, almost eclipsed the title of Andravida to be the capital of the Peloponnese, was built on a steep hill rising to a height of some two thousand feet, three or four miles to the west of the modern town of Sparta. The front of this hill is very steep, the back a sheer precipice. Behind it rise the lower spurs of Taygetus, ascending in a succession of ridges to the summits of that splendid mountain-range which runs in a line of incomparable beauty through the promontory of Mani to distant Matapan. Beneath lies the broad valley of the Eurotas, intersected with many running streams, with avenues of mulberry, groves of olive, and lemon orchards round the clustered cypresses, the greenest and most fertile region in the peninsula. There are few more striking anomalies of contrast than that which is suggested by this idyllic land of hollow Lacedæmon, and the grim forbidding type of character developed in the Sparta of Lycurgus. It was no wonder that the Prince made this his favourite residence.[2]

The Mistra of to-day is little more than a village. Only a portion of the lower town and a few monasteries are still occupied. The other ruinous tenements were

[1] The origin of the name Mizithra has been much discussed. The chronicler and Bishop Dorotheus state clearly that the name was already applied to the site before the castle was built. Hopf considers it to be Slavonic; others assert an Hellenic etymology. The name is probably derived from a goat cheese universal in the Morea and called μυζήθρα. Buchon writes: "Mistra en patois de France signifie maîtresse ville." (*G. C. et la M.*, p. 430, note.) Scarcely less justifiable is the derivation from "Messire."

[2] This is the scene which inspired the genius of Goethe to create a palace of the imagination on the slopes of Taygetus, in which Faust, the embodiment of the spirit of the middle age, surrounded by the pomp of chivalry, receives Helena, the immortal type of the glory that was Greece, for the consummation of their mystic union. (*Faust*, Pt. II. Act iii.)

finally abandoned after an earthquake some sixty or seventy years ago, and a new Sparta was then built on the site of the classic city. Mistra comprises the Katokhori, or lower town; the Mesokhori, or middle town; and the Kastro, or fortress, which crowns the summit of the hill with a mass of broken walls below the ivy-covered towers of the keep. Its many churches are Byzantine and not Frankish in character, and the most extensive of its ruins is by local tradition pointed out as the palace of the Greek despots or governors, whose seat of government was established here when the province was restored to the empire as the ransom of Villehardouin in 1262. From the palace a steep path winds up through concentric walls by watch-tower flanking watch-tower to the fortress on the crest, which is of Frankish origin, though modified by subsequent occupants, with vast cisterns for water storage, with square and circular bastions ingeniously fitted to the folds and hollows of the rock. Westward from Mistra is the entrance to the cleft of Langhada, the only pass through Taygetus into Messenia for many miles, whether to the north or the south. Calamata may be reached by this mountain path in some twelve hours, and Veligosti to the north is just within a long day's ride.

Here the Prince established his brilliant court, which vied in magnificence with those of many great kingdoms, maintaining a thousand horsemen as his permanent bodyguard, and entertaining young nobles from the east and west who sought to learn the arts of chivalry in so renowned a school, or found in his service a refuge from their creditors at home. Sanudo, who is the best authority for the early years of his reign, states that with the epoch of peace and pros-

perity inaugurated by the Franks trade had developed extensively, and credit stood so high that merchants no longer needed to carry money in their saddle-bags, but readily cashed their bills in the castles of the barons. The same authority states that William at this time strengthened his ties with the powerful nobles of central Greece by bringing over ladies of his family from Champagne whom he married to his feudatories.[1] Among the princely guests he entertained at this period was Hugh IV. of Burgundy, who spent the winter of 1248–1249 at Lacedæmonia on his way to join Louis IX. in his ill-omened crusade. The Prince himself fitted out a contingent of twenty-four ships for the expedition to Damietta, and escorted his visitor to Limasol in Cyprus, where they met the French King,[2] who now conferred upon him the privilege of coining Tourneys of the standard of the French crown, apparently with a similar authorised circulation.[3] During this expedition to Cyprus Villehardouin touched at

[1] Marino Sanudo, *Ist. di. Rom.*, p. 101. Sanudo speaks of nieces; they were more probably, however, cousins, as we know of no other children of the first Villehardouin, except Geoffrey, William himself and one sister, who married Hugues de Bruyères. Sanudo also speaks of an expedition made by William against the rebellious Greeks of Bodonitza (p. 103). This, it is pointed out by Hopf, is probably a mistake of the copyist for Monembasia.

[2] Joinville refers to this meeting: "Lendemain de la Penthecouste . . . le roy et nous qui estions avec li demourez . . . encontrames le prince de la Morée et le duc de Bourgoingue qui avoit séjourné en la Morée" (*Hist. de St. Louis*). "Venitque ad eos tunc princeps Achaiæ cum gentibus et vasellis quampluribus in subsidium illorum et terræ sanctæ" (Guillaume de Nangis, *de gestis Ludovici*).

[3] Sanudo, *Ist. Rom.*, p. 102: "Battere Torneselli della Lega del Re mettendo in una libra tre onze e mezza d'argento." The chronicle assigns the concession of coinage to the Emperor Robert in 1218. Coins were indeed apparently struck by the Frankish princes of Morea before this meeting with Louis IX,, and some of the earliest were minted at Corinth. They bear the rude semblance of a fortress, which may either be typical of Acrocorinth, or may represent the strong fortress of Clairmont, the visible sign of the Frankish dominion in Morea. The concession made by Louis IX. seems therefore to have been rather the admission of the Achaian coinage to a parity as legal tender with the French.

Rhodes, where he left a hundred Moreote knights to support the Genoese, who at this time were contesting the island with the Emperor of Nicæa.

So while the harrassed Emperor of the east travelled soliciting alms from court to court in the west, the Franks of Achaia enjoyed wealth and security, and "tout li prelat, baron, chevalier et autre gentil home si faisoient cescun sa fortresse selon son pooir, et monoit la meillor vie que nul pueust mener." This happy state of things continued till 1255, when Carintana dalle Carceri died, and Villehardouin considered the moment propitious for the development of the ambitious schemes which he had long cherished in Eubœa.[1]

It has been pointed out in the preceding chapter that, by an arrangement negotiated in the year 1216 by the Venetian bailie, Pietro Barbo, after the death of Ravano dalle Carceri, the tripartite division of the island had been re-established, while each of the three great baronies was temporarily subdivided into two equal portions to satisfy the many claimants to his inheritance. There were thus in 1216 six half-baronies in Eubœa, of which the two southern fell to Isabella the widow, and Berta the daughter of Ravano; the two central, comprising what was thereafter known as the Triarchy of Verona, to Alberto and Guglielmo, sons of Giberto da Verona; while the two northern

[1] The history of Eubœa up to this period is extremely perplexing, and the absence of any documentary evidence over a period of some forty years makes it very difficult to unravel the intricate questions of succession among the Terzieri. Hopf in his *Griechische Geschichte* has thrown light on the subject, but the account there given is not consecutive, and the various references are not altogether consistent. He seems moreover too much disposed to accept without question all the statements of Sanudo, whose opening sentences on the Eubœan imbroglio are, to say the least of them, ambiguous. His monograph on Carystos, published many years earlier in the reports of the Vienna Academy of Science, is of little value for this period, and reveals some strange misconceptions which he corrected in his later historical works.

baronies became the portion of Ravano's nephews, Marino and Rizzardo, the sons of his brother Riondello dalle Carceri.[1] The claims of the only daughter of Peccoraro were compromised by her marriage to Rizzardo. It was specifically laid down that on the death of any one partner in this subdivision, the half-barony should revert to the survivor.

From this time until the year 1256, when the Terzieri of Eubœa signed agreements with Venice, pledging themselves to co-operate in active hostilities against the Prince, there is a dearth of any documentary evidence bearing on the history of Eubœa, and we are forced to fall back upon conjecture to explain the complications which ensued. But it is to be observed that in the roll of Venetian bailies in Eubœa, as it has come down to us, there is an interval between the years 1224 and 1252,[2] commencing therefore about the time when the Emperor Robert is said to have placed the island under the feudal supremacy of Achaia. Moreover in the conventions of 1256, in which the triarchs Guglielmo I. and Narzotto agree to make common cause with Venice against Villehardouin, the conditions of 1209 and 1216 are renewed, and their obligations to the republic are once more rehearsed with certain additions; whence it may be inferred that the former arrangements had partially fallen into abeyance. Venice, fully occupied with the establish-

[1] The act is extant by which Venice recognised the claims of Marino and Rizzardo to one-third of the island, and in it allusion is made to the partition of the remaining two-thirds among the sons of Giberto and the widow and daughter of Ravano. See Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, Pt. II. ccxli. p. 175. There is also extant the obligation taken by Guglielmo da Verona, who answers for his absent brother Alberto, similar in context, *mutatis mutandis*. (Tafel and Thomas, Pt. II. ccxlii. p. 180.)

[2] The only historical record connecting Venice with Eubœa in 1224 is a document, fixing the salary of the bailie at 450 gold hyperpers, out of which he was to support a notary, with 100 pounds in addition for travelling expenses.

ment of her dominion in Crete and the aggressive rivalry of Genoa, had perhaps allowed the affairs of Eubœa to slip to some extent from her immediate control, when the marriage of Villehardouin with Carintana reminded her of the necessity for closer vigilance.

In accordance with the terms of the compromise of 1216, upon the death of Alberto da Verona, the sixth part of the island allotted to him devolved upon his surviving brother Guglielmo, who now became triarch of the whole central barony. Rizzardo dalle Carceri died in or about 1220, leaving an only daughter, Carintana. His sixth of the island should have reverted to his surviving brother Marino, and it is probable that during his daughter's infancy it did so revert. Some arrangement, however, must have been concluded subsequently, whether with or without the consent of Venice, by which the title of Carintana to at any rate one-half of the northern barony of Oreos was eventually recognised. It is possible that when the Villehardouins became overlords they ignored the compromise of 1216. She was undoubtedly in possession at the time of her death. A passage in the treaties of pacification, drawn up between William Villehardouin, Venice and the triarchs, some six years after the outbreak of hostilities in 1256, would seem to indicate the existence of some previous treaty or agreement defining the rights of Carintana and the other parties, for the Prince of Achaia is there recognised on the one hand as entitled to all the rights which he possessed or seemed to possess, and Venice on the other hand is guaranteed all the privileges, immunities, and possessions which the republic enjoyed "in the days of the Lady Carintana." Sanudo moreover speaks of a certain Michael Morosini as holding a sixth part of the island

for Carintana.[1] It must therefore be assumed that, perhaps at the time when the Prince of Achaia was confirmed in the overlordship of Eubœa in 1236, Carintana was reinstated in her father's half-barony. Compensation was at the same time probably made to Marino, or his son and successor Narzotto, who married a daughter of Guglielmo da Verona, in a portion of the southern triarchy, which became vacant on the death of Ravano's widow, Isabella. It is also possible that on the death of Berta without any direct heir, Carintana claimed the other half of the southern barony, and named Morosini her procurator there. The old tripartite division would thus have been restored, with the difference that two of the Terzieri were seised of a half-barony in the north and the other half in the south of the island.[2] One other point calls for mention. A Felisa dalle Carceri, a younger daughter of Ravano, married to Otho de Cicon, had received the castle of Carystos and fiefs in the neighbourhood. Carystos appears to have constituted an independent barony, but Otho de Cicon in the ensuing quarrel took the part of Villehardouin, whom he thus recognised as his liege lord.

Upon the death of Carintana without children in 1255, William Villehardouin put forward a claim to a

[1] The passage in Sanudo is as follows: "Miser Michiel Morosini, che teneva un sestier di Negroponte per la moglie del Principe sopradetto," *i.e.* Carintana. This need not imply more than that Morosini was her procurator. But Hopf seems to have interpreted it to mean that Morosini was actually enfeoffed by Carintana: "Der ein Sechstel der Insel durch Carintana's Belehnung besasz." Again, in the genealogical tables annexed to his *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes*, he describes Morosini as a hexarch, and represents him as the husband of Berta, who was actually in possession of one-sixth part. Both Berta and Isabella disappear from history after the compromise of 1216, and it does not seem clear on what authority Hopf basis this conjecture.

[2] A similar hypothesis is adopted by Professor John Bury, in his paper "The Lombards and Venetians in Eubœa," to explain the situation in 1255. See App. I. note 12.

third of the island[1] as the legatee of his wife. The triarchs Guglielmo and Narzotto, who, according to Sanudo,[2] had made it a condition among themselves that on the death of any one triarch the other two should succeed—which must be interpreted, should dispose of the succession — took possession of the barony of Oreos, and bestowed it upon Grapella,[3] the son of Alberto da Verona, who had married Margherita, daughter of his uncle Guglielmo.

They relied upon the support of Venice, guaranteed by long-standing treaties. The appeal of Villehardouin to the Doge consequently bore no fruit, and Marco Gradenigo, the representative of Venice in Eubœa, drew up a formal compact in duplicate with Guglielmo and Narzotto respectively, renewing the terms of the arrangements made in 1209 and 1211, and engaging the triarchs to active hostilities[4] against the Prince of Achaia in the event of his refusing to recognise the conventions. In these agreements they once more declared themselves vassals of the republic of Venice for Eubœa, and undertook, as a formal acknowledgment of her overlordship, to surrender to Gradenigo the castle on the island of the Euripus, which commanded the bridge communicating with the mainland. The customs[5] were to be collected for Venice, but free entry was conceded for their own goods, and the tribute hitherto due from each of them, of seven hundred hyperpers annually,[6] was to be abolished. A consider-

[1] Mr. Bury suggests that, though calling himself a triarch, Villehardouin did not necessarily claim more than the half-barony which he assumes Carintana to have held.

[2] Sanudo, *Ist. di Rom.*, p. 103.

[3] Known as Grapella dalle Carceri, his grandfather Giberto having been a member of the same family as Ravano.

[4] "Vivam guerram."

[5] "Comerclium maris."

[6] One-third of the sum of 2100 hyperpers covenanted in 1209 with Ravano dalle Carceri.

able area of territory adjoining the town of Chalcis or Negripont was also granted to the republic. The name of Guillaume de la Roche of Veligosti appears among those of the witnesses to these documents, which were signed in 1256 and subsequently ratified.[1] Venetian diplomacy had in the meanwhile won over all the prominent nobles of Eubœa, with the exception of Leone dalle Carceri, brother of Grapella, Othon de Cicon of Carystos, and Michael Morosini, who retired to the Morea so as not to be driven to arms against his mother country. The republic had, moreover, even gained powerful adherents in the Morea. The personal influence with his elder brother of Guillaume de la Roche, whose co-operation Venice had secured by guarantees, together with mistrust of Villehardouin, who was believed to contemplate the union of all the Frankish states under the vassalage of Achaia, at length determined the lord of Athens also to throw in his lot with Venice, and, although he was his liegeman for the territories of Argos and Nauplia in the Peloponnese, Guy de la Roche[2] finally refused to join the banner of the Prince when he summoned the feudal levies to fight for his rights in Negripont. The fact that any of the Eubœan nobles took the part of Villehardouin must be admitted as evidence that there was considerable justification for his attitude.

The chronicle attributes the outbreak of intestine war solely to the claims put forward by Villehardouin to overlordship over Athens and the baronies of central Greece, and makes no mention of the disputed title to the barony of Oreos.[1] These claims are stated to have

[1] Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, Pt. III. pp. 1–6, 7–13, 13–16.

[2] Guy de la Roche is throughout called Guillaume in the French and Greek texts of the chronicle, a further proof of the reckless inaccuracy of the author.

been based on a pretended cession of overlordship over all the baronies of central Greece made by the Marquis of Montferrat to Champlitte. So far as Naxos and Eubœa are concerned, Villehardouin could assert direct investiture by the Frankish Emperors of Constantinople. But, according to the chronicle, he now demanded from the lord of Athens the formal act of homage, which Guy de la Roche refused, on the ground that he and his predecessor had won their country by the sword, and that he owned no obligation for his possessions in Attica, save that of comradeship and goodwill. Once more the story here put forward contains a germ of truth. It was no doubt the ambition of Villehardouin to unite all the Frankish baronies under the ægis of Achaia. The situation in Eubœa afforded him a pretext for definitely asserting his pretensions.

The action of the Prince precipitated hostilities. He summoned Guglielmo and Narzotto, the recalcitrant triarchs, to meet him at Rupo,[1] and on their appearance he detained them as prisoners, and proceeded to occupy Negripont. The numerous kinsmen of the clan of dalle Carceri, headed by the wives of the imprisoned barons, appealed to the bailie of Venice, Marco Gradenigo, who collected all available forces, and recovered possession of the town. Then Geoffrey of Carytena arrived on the scene at the head of a powerful army of Moreotes, and, carrying everything before him in the island, compelled the Venetians once more to withdraw from the capital. The barony of Oreos was also occupied by a force from Achaia, and Othon de Cicon at Carystos held the south of the island for the Prince. Gradenigo, however, returning with three galleys, established a blockade of

[1] Perhaps the Skala of Oropus in Bœotia, opposite Eubœa, and not far south of the Euripus. Hopf suggests Chateau de Coupa. (Note to Sanudo.)

Negripont from the sea. The siege was maintained for thirteen months, and when Guy de la Roche, after long wavering, at length decided to oppose the Prince in arms, the fortress once more capitulated in 1258. Meanwhile Pope Alexander IV., justly apprehensive of the consequences of this internecine strife among the Latins of Romania, spared no efforts to bring about a reconciliation, and ordered Villehardouin to release his prisoners and come to terms with Venice. The war was, nevertheless, eagerly prosecuted with alternating success in Eubœa itself, and operations began before long to take a wider extension. A Moreote army blockaded the Venetian fortress of Coron, and cut off the garrison from all communication with the interior. The Genoese, whose desire to embarrass their hereditary rival drew them into the quarrel, supported the Prince with their galleys, which cruised from the safe shelter of Monemvasia in pursuit of Venetian shipping, while, on the other hand, privateers from Nauplia menaced the coasts of the Peloponnese, and intercepted traffic by sea in the name of the megaskyr of Athens. The armies of Achaia, marching by the isthmus into Bœotia, raided in Megaris and Attica, and in return the partisans of Athens invaded the territory of Corinth. Villehardouin therefore determined to deal de la Roche a crushing blow, and render him powerless to intercept communications with Negripont. With this object he called out the full strength of the feudal army of Morea, summoning even the bishops, the military orders, and the burghers of the town to take the field and assemble in the plain of Nikli. The adherents of the lord of Athens mustered at Thebes, where his banner was joined by Thomas of Stromoncourt, lord of Salona; the Margrave of Bodonitza; the three St. Omers, his

nephews;[1] Guillaume de la Roche of Veligosti and two other brothers, all of them knights bannerets.[2] And now in the moment of his need, Guy sought, through the influence of his daughter Isabella, to detach her husband, Geoffroi de Bruyères, the foremost soldier of the Morea, from allegiance to the Prince his uncle. Overcome by the pleading of his wife, the lord of Carytena, after long searchings of heart and with much misgiving, broke his oath of allegiance. Villehardouin, aware of his preparations for war, and never doubting that he was making ready to meet him at Nikli, suddenly learned to his great indignation that his favourite nephew and most trusted captain was marching across the isthmus to join the camp of his enemies before Thebes.

Meanwhile the Moreote garrison at Corinth had sent out a small force to seize and hold the passes of Megara, whither he hastened with all the feudal levies. From Thebes Guy de la Roche with the allied barons marched south to meet him. The two armies met beneath the mountain at Akra or Carydi, on the road from Corinth to Thebes, distant some three hours from Megara. Here Villehardouin inflicted a signal defeat on the combined chivalry of the northern barons, who left many dead on the field and withdrew into the Cadmeia which the conqueror prepared to invest, while a portion of his army advanced on Athens. In this battle Guibert de Cors, who had married the daughter of the hereditary marshal Jean de Neuilly, lost his life. Now, however, the prelates and barons of the Morea intervened and urged a reconciliation between old friends and kinsmen, while Guy and his followers

[1] Nicholas, John, and Otho, sons of Bela de St. Omer and Bonne de la Roche, the sister of Guy. Nicholas had succeeded to the barony of Thebes.

[2] The Greek chronicle mentions also the Terzieri of Eubœa, but they were at this time actually Villehardouin's prisoners.

on their side offered to swear a solemn oath never again to bear arms against the Prince, and to submit to such a penalty as his justice might exact. William accepted these preliminary conditions of peace and withdrew to the plain of Tegea, where there was good grazing for his large force of cavalry. He once more established his headquarters at Nikli and awaited the arrival of the barons whom he had summoned to attend his parliament there.

Thither rode Guy de la Roche with an imposing following to appear before the high court of Achaia, attended by the brothers St. Omer and the northern feudatories, and thither also came, contrite and humbled, the unfortunate lord of Carytena. The lord of Athens craved and received pardon and performed the solemn act of homage to Villehardouin, who ordered him to journey to France and lay his case before the head and fount of chivalry, King Louis IX., who would declare the pains and penalties he had incurred by bearing arms against his liege lord. Thus the chronicler, who attributes this light sentence to the prayers of the Moreote prelates and barons and the magnanimity of the Prince. But it is probable that the version given by Sanudo of this episode is more historical. Villehardouin, he says, exposed to the high court of his peers the causes which had led up to the war and pleaded the heavy expenditure entailed on the principality, while he denounced the violation of the feudal constitutions, in full anticipation that the high court would pronounce the deposition of Guy de la Roche. But the barons declared themselves incompetent to deal with the case, inasmuch as they were not his peers, his rights being sovereign in Attica and Bœotia, while he was only vassal for Nauplia and

Argos.[1] Under these circumstances they proposed to refer to the arbitration of the French monarch, the natural protector of the Franks in the east, the question at issue between the two parties. Villehardouin, who had at this period perhaps the power as well as the inclination to depose his rival, had also the political sense not to alienate his barons by overriding their decision and accepted the ruling of the court.

And now occurred one of the most dramatic scenes of this romantic story. The lord of Athens, whose case had just been disposed of, the ecclesiastical dignitaries and all the foremost chivalry of Greece, grouping themselves round the lord of Carytena, led him forward stripped of his arms, with a noose about his neck, and kneeling at the Prince's feet they besought him of his clemency to forgive his erring kinsman, and not to have in mind his misdoing and disloyalty, but only his great worth and generous heart. "Thereon the Prince, who was more angered with the lord of Carytena than he was with the lord of Athens, maintained a hard and haughty mien, and answered that on no plea would he pardon him. At last, however, through the prayers of the high barons, he did forgive him and restore him to his lands, but in such wise only that henceforth he should not hold them by right of conquest and to dispose of to any heir of his house, but he bestowed them on his person and the heirs of his body alone, as a new bequest, since through felony he had forfeited his title."

The restoration of peace was celebrated by tournaments in the plain of Nikli, and Guy took leave of the Prince and returned to Thebes to prepare for the journey to France, on which he set out in the following spring.

[1] Sanudo, *Ist. di Rom.*, p. 105.

after appointing his brother Otho to act as bailie in his absence. Villehardouin, triumphant over the combination of the northern barons, was now for a brief space the dominant factor in Romania, and the year 1259 marks the climax of his fortunes. Venice gave the new agent appointed to Eubœa full powers to treat with the Prince and his partisans, for the precarious condition of Constantinople had convinced the republic that it was necessary for all the Latins to show an united face to the common enemy, and she at the same time despatched envoys to the Morea. Nevertheless the close of the same year witnessed the profound humiliation of the ambitious Prince, and with his discomfiture and imprisonment the last hope of saving the ephemeral empire of the Franks disappeared.

To appreciate the sequence of events which led up to the disaster of Pelagonia and the captivity of Villehardouin, it is necessary to glance once more at the story of the Despotate of Epirus, founded, as has been seen in an earlier chapter, by the bastard Michael Angelus Comnenus. After his assassination in 1214 his brother Theodore Angelus succeeded in extending his dominion to the kingdom of Thessalonica, where he proclaimed himself Emperor in 1222. He continued to widen his borders, advancing in the direction of Philippopolis and Andrianople, until defeated and taken prisoner in 1230 by Johannes Asan, who put out his eyes. A third brother, Manuel Angelus, took his place, but in the meantime a second Michael, a natural son of the first Despot, acquired adherents in Ætolia and Epirus and re-established an independent Despotate, distinct from the new empire of Thessalonica, which was before long reduced to vassalage by John Vatatzes and finally annexed to Nicæa in 1246. Michael II.

established his capital at Arta and gradually pushed forward into Thessaly, annexing the old Lombard fiefs up to the frontier of Macedonia, while in the south his borders marched with the Frankish baronies of Salona and Bodonitza. Near the latter outpost he constituted in his Thessalian territories a vassal principality for his natural son Johannes Dukas, a man of far greater energy and ambition than the legitimate heir, his half-brother Nicephorus. Johannes Dukas married the beautiful daughter of the wealthy archon Taronites, the hereditary chieftain of the Vlachs of southern Thessaly, whose riches also ministered to his ambition. He made his capital and built a strong fortress at Neo-Patras, the ancient Hypata[1] in the land of the Ænians, situated on the heights to the south of the valley of the Spercheius, where he cultivated friendly relations with his Frankish neighbours.

The intrigues of his uncle, the blind ex-Emperor Theodore who after his release by Asan in 1240, still maintained a semi-independence at Vodena, involved Michael II. in hostilities with Nicæa, but he was compelled to bow to the superior power of John Vatatzes and signed a treaty with him at Larissa, in accordance with which the Despot surrendered Prilapon, Belesas and other fortresses, and accepted, as the Emperor of Nicæa's vassal, confirmation of the title of Despot to himself and his son Nicephorus. The latter, who was pledged to marry the daughter of Theodore Lascaris, became hostage for his father's good behaviour, and Michael also handed over the intriguing ex-Emperor Theodore, perhaps not unwillingly, to the mercy of Vatatzes. In 1254 Vatatzes

[1] Leake, *N. G.*, vol. ii. chap. x. Neopatras was known as Patradjik during the Turkish occupation of Greece.

died, on the eve, as it seemed, of the realisation of his dream, the final restoration of the eastern empire by the conquest of Constantinople. Theodore Lascaris, whom Vatatzes had set aside, now succeeded to the throne of Nicæa and reigned for four years. During his feeble administration the ambitious soldier Michael Palæologus rose to power, the man of fate in the hour of crisis. In 1256 the aggressions of the Bulgarians in his European provinces brought Lascaris to Europe, and the long-deferred marriage of his daughter Maria to Nicephorus was then celebrated at Thessalonica, but not until his former hostage had given an undertaking to surrender Durazzo and Servia. Lascaris then returned to Nicæa, leaving George Acropolita, the historian, in Europe as his governor. The forced surrender of these fortresses so incensed the Despot Michael that he tore up the treaty of Larissa and, resuming hostilities against the Emperor, overran the whole of Albania and eventually forced Acropolita to surrender in Prilapon. The death of Theodore Lascaris in 1258 compelled Michael Palæologus, who assumed the regency, for a short while to defer action against the Despot of Epirus. But it was not long before he firmly established himself on the throne of Nicæa, deposing and blinding the infant John Lascaris, with whom he had caused himself to be crowned joint-Emperor in June 1259.

The accession of a child to the throne of Nicæa and the prospect of internal divisions under the regency of a military adventurer, had afforded the Despot a favourable opportunity for the reassertion of his claims to Thessalonica, which his uncle had forfeited. Indeed it is probable that, after the death of Vatatzes had removed his most formidable rival, the bastard

Michael, who had now assumed the significant title of Despot of Hellas, did not consider the reversion of Constantinople as beyond the scope of his ambition. He therefore sought to strengthen his position by politic alliances of marriage. Manfred, who in 1258 had caused himself to be crowned King of Sicily in Palermo upon a report of the death of Conradin, had claims in Epirus arising from the conquests of the Normans, which the Despot's embarrassments had encouraged him to assert. To him the Despot now offered the hand of his daughter Helena, the youngest child of that "renowned and blessed lady, Queen Theodora, the worker of many miracles in Arta,"[1] who was afterwards canonised by the Greeks. With her he offered as dowry, Corfu,[2] Durazzo, Vallona, and Belagrada,[3] which Manfred had perhaps already occupied.

The gracious bride of Epirus landed at Trani in 1259 and was there united to the heroic son of Frederick II., whose chivalrous character all the hatred of the Guelph and the rancour of the priesthood have not availed to disfigure in the eyes of posterity, since Dante saw the vision of his noble spirit rescued by eternal love from the doom to which their maledictions had condemned him, secure in a loftier sphere of hope and expiation.[4] The devotion of Manfred to his beautiful wife, the story of whose deeply tragic end brings a fresh and human pathos to the bloodstained annals of those dark ages, assured his powerful support to the cause of her father-in-law. Her elder sister Anna Angela became about the same time the third wife of

[1] *Life of St. Theodore Petraliphas*, by a monk of the name of Job, published in Buchon, *N. R.*, ii. p. 401.
[2] Sanudo, *Ist. di Rom.*, p. 107.
[3] Berat.
[4] *Purgatorio*, Canto III.

Villehardouin, while her dowry placed under his control a portion of the lost Frankish fiefs in southern Thessaly. Relying on these powerful allies, the Despot turned a deaf ear to the demands and menaces of Palæologus, whom he affected to consider a mere usurper. The efforts of Palæologus to bring him to reason by treating with his allies were also vain, and in October 1259 a powerful army under the command of his brother the Sebastocrator, Johannes Comnenus, crossed to Europe to attack the rebellious Despot. King Manfred furnished his father-in-law with a body of 400 German knights, and the Prince of Achaia called out the full muster of his feudal troops, including contingents from central Greece and Eubœa, where since the victory of Carydi his paramount authority appears to have been definitely acknowledged. The Despot awaited the arrival of these reinforcements at Castoria, in the district of Pelagonia south of Lake Ochrida, whither his son Johannes Dukas also led a considerable army from his province in the south of Thessaly or Great Vlachia, as it was then called.

The story of this campaign, which ended so disastrously for the Prince of Achaia, is told with anecdotal detail in the chronicle, but the circumstances which led up to the war are obscured and distorted. The very practical issue between the Despot of Epirus and the rival Greek state of Nicæa is ignored, and in its place we are presented with an imaginary quarrel between "the Despot" Nicephorus, who had not yet succeeded his father Michael, and his natural brother, the lord of Neopatras, whose name is transformed into "Quir Thodre, the Sebastocrator,"[1] and who is repre-

[1] κὺρ Θεώδορος.

sented as having taken the side of Nicæa. Fortunately, however, there are other independent authorities[1] for this period, from whose narratives the real history underlying the romance can be reconstituted. For the actual details of the battle which was the turning-point in the fortunes of Villehardouin the chronicle is probably a more trustworthy guide.[2]

The Sebastocrator, Johannes Comnenus, led a powerful army of allies and mercenaries, which included Alemans, perhaps the successors of the old Varangian guard, Hungarians, Servians, Bulgarians, and Turks, as well as a force of Coman or Scythian mounted archers. After occupying Vodena, he continued his advance on Castoria before the Frankish levies had joined the Despot's army. The Epirotes retired in panic before him, and contingents of the Nicæan force overran a considerable portion of Albania. But the arrival of the Prince of Morea and Manfred's German reiters inspired Michael Angelus with fresh courage, and he advanced once more to meet Johannes, who was conducting the siege of Berat.

The reputation of the Franks inspired respect in the east, and the Sebastocrator, realising the formidable combination which he had to face, endeavoured to sow mutual distrust among the allies. He accordingly sent an agent into the hostile camp, who gained the ear of the Despot, and represented to him that Villehardouin was secretly negotiating with Nicæa and intended, after betraying him to the enemy, to make

[1] Acropolita, Nicephorus Gregoras, and Pachymeres, besides Sanudo.

[2] The story of the campaign in the chronicle opens in a poetic vein: "Quant cellui yver fu passés et li noviau temps entra, que li roussignol chantent vers l'aube de jour doucement, et toutes créatures se renovelent et s'esjoyssent sur terre, li prince Guillermes . . . si amassa toute sa gent &c. &c." The war, however, began in the autumn. See Nic. Greg., *Hist. Byz.*, Bk. III. ch. v.

himself master of the Despotate. Persuaded by the ready tongue of this envoy, Michael and a certain number of adherents who had his confidence abandoned the camp and fled in the night. Their action was followed by the defection of many more of his troops when the news was bruited abroad in the morning.[1]

The author of the chronicle tells this story somewhat differently. Quir Thodre, the Sebastocrator,[2] who was a wary soldier, devised a crafty plan. He collected peasants from far and near, with all their beasts of burden, and made them march into the mountains, while the army bivouacked below. When night came the counterfeit battalions in the hills as well as the real warriors in the plain lit up innumerable camp-fires, so that the whole country seemed to swarm with the myriads of Nicæa. He then sent a messenger privily to the Despot, and describing the overpowering forces assembled against him, urged him to save his own life and lands by flight. Two days of grace were allowed for reflection, after which the Emperor's forces would have concentrated and he could no longer delay the attack. The Despot, however, took Villehardouin into council, and they then summoned the barons to his tent and swore them on the gospels to secrecy. After long debate they basely resolved to abandon their followers as soon as the camp was asleep. Only Geoffroi de Bruyères raised his voice in a dignified protest, recorded in the Greek metrical version: "Here let us stand our ground," said he, "and await them if they come to fight us. Fear not, though they be more in number than we are. Their host is made up of many races,

[1] Nic. Greg., *Hist. Byz.*, Bk. III, ch. v. He, however, erroneously represents Manfred as having been present in the camp and at the ensuing battle.

[2] *i.e.* the bastard, Johannes Dukas, is represented as being already with the army of Nicæa.

speaking many tongues, and they will never hold together. We, though we be few in number, are we not all as brothers, all speaking a common language! Here will we let them see that we are true soldiers."[1] His appeal, however, could not stay the panic, and every man withdrew to his tent.

But the lord of Carytena was troubled and perplexed, and pondered how he might save his people, to whom he was devotedly attached, without breaking the oath of secrecy to which he had subscribed. A broken lance was lying in his tent, and with the shaft he loudly struck the tent-pole and addressed it in the epic vein, "Oh, pole of my tent, a loyal servant hast thou been to me until this day, and were I to fail thee and desert thee now, recreant should I be and lose thy faithful service. Therefore fain would I excuse myself to thee, and have thee to know that the Prince and the Despot and we, the other high barons of the army, have bound ourselves together by oath to fly this night and abandon our people. This may I not discover to any man, because of my oath, but to thee I tell it, that art not a man, affirming that the truth is even so."

These words were overheard by his followers without, and the rumour of the intended flight of the chiefs spread swiftly through the camp. The Prince, realising that their plan had been betrayed, upbraided Bruyères with the violation of his oath. But he stoutly defended his action. Those that had counselled them to fly and abandon their own people he held to be slaves and sorry cowards. Moved by his words, the Prince repented his ignoble decision and resolved to give battle on the morrow. But the Despot and his son

[1] *G. C.*, lines 3838–3845. This passage is important as showing that the Franks who had grown up in the country had adopted the Greek language.

Nicephorus stole away in the night with a portion of the troops.

A third version of the circumstances which led to the break-up of the Despot's camp is given by Pachymeres.[1] The wife of the bastard Johannes Dukas, daughter of the archon Taronites, the chief of the Megalo-Vlachs, had followed her husband to the camp, where her beauty provoked demonstrations of gallantry from the Moreote knights, which incensed the jealous husband. In a violent quarrel which ensued the hot-blooded soldiers flew to arms, and the Prince of Achaia, taking the side of his knights, publicly insulted Johannes and alluded to his base birth. Thereupon the lord of Neopatras entered into secret negotiation with the Nicæan camp, and pledged himself to the Sebastocrator to join him in the coming battle, if he would confine his onset to the Frankish columns and undertake, should they fall into his hands, to restore the Despot and Nicephorus their liberty.

There is perhaps a germ of truth in all these versions of the circumstances which tended to break up the allied force. In any case it appears to be beyond doubt that both Michael and Nicephorus abandoned the camp, while the bastard Johannes went over to the enemy and, by attacking the rear of the Frankish army in the ensuing battle, contributed materially to their discomfiture.

The armies met in the plain of Pelagonia. The Franks, deserted by the Despot and betrayed by Johannes Dukas, were hopelessly outnumbered. Their only hope, according to the chronicle, lay in breaking by an impetuous charge the formation of the German

[1] Pach., *De Mich. Palæologo*, ch. xxxi.

mercenaries, who were considered to be the best troops of Nicæa, and flinging them back in confusion on to the main body. This task and the command of the first battle was entrusted to Geoffrey of Carytena, who led the pick of the Moreote knights and the cavalry of Manfred. After the first shock of lances they drew their swords and hacked their way into the midst of the Germans, who yielded ground. Then Comnenus[1] brought up his Hungarian and Coman archers who shot into the mêlée, wounding friends and foes alike, killing the horses and bringing the knights in their heavy mail to the ground. Thus Bruyères was himself unhorsed, an arrow having transfixed his charger's brain, and the flower of the Moreote and Apulian chivalry were killed or taken alive. The rank and file fled from the stricken field. The Prince himself, who had been concealed by his attendants under a pile of straw, was discovered and recognised by his projecting teeth. He became the prisoner of Comnenus, together with Geoffrey of Carytena and many of the greater barons of Romania. The conqueror then entered Thessaly, carrying Johannes Dukas with him as a hostage. Portions of his force advanced on Jannina and Arta, while he himself continued his southward march, and menaced the state of Athens. It is scarcely probable that Otho de la Roche, who was acting as bailie there during his brother's absence in France, could have opposed any serious resistance, but at this juncture an opportune diversion was created by the escape of Johannes Dukas, who rejoined his father the Despot, and succeeded in inspiring the demoralised Epirotes with new vigour. Arta and Jannina were relieved, the invaders were driven out of the Des-

[1] "Quir Thodre" throughout in the chronicle.

potate and Comnenus, in danger of having his retreat cut off, was forced to retire.

The battle of Pelagonia was fought in October 1259, not in 1260, the date assigned in the chronicle. At the end of the year Johannes Comnenus returned with his important captives to Asia, where he found the Emperor Michael at Lampsacus. As a reward for his great services he received the honorary title of Despot, while Alexius Strategopoulus, afterwards the reconqueror of Constantinople, who had served under him, was at the same time created Cæsar.[1]

The surrender of the Morea was the price for which the Emperor offered Villehardouin his liberty. The Franks, he said, had no right to be there, and they would never be able to hold the land against his armies. But inasmuch as their fathers had expended their substance and hazarded their lives to conquer the country, he would offer adequate compensation, and send them home rich enough to purchase large estates in their own country, and there to live in peace. If they did not agree to these conditions there would be unending war. The Prince, however, answered in a chivalrous spirit. The Morea was a conquered country, and had been parcelled out among those noblemen who fought in company with his father for its possession, for themselves and their heirs to have and to hold. Therefore, even were he on his own account to contemplate a surrender, which he would sooner die than propose, the barons who were his peers would never accept such a solution. He begged the Emperor never to revert to the subject, but to fix the amount of ransom to be paid for his release and that of his fellow-prisoners, according to the rules of chival-

[1] *Acropolita*, p. 184, 8.

rous war. The Emperor retorted that the pride and arrogance of Frenchmen clouded their clear understanding, and that for a money ransom he would never let them go. So he dismissed them to the prison, where they were destined to remain for nearly three years.

Meanwhile the more fortunate survivors and fugitives from the field of Pelagonia, acting in concert with the Princess of Achaia, the prelates, and the wives and families of the captive barons, determined to call back Guy de la Roche to assume the functions of bailie during the detention of the Prince.[1] Guy had spent the eventful year in Burgundy, where the misdeeds of the sea-marauders who, issuing from his haven at Nauplia, made the voyage through the Archipelago a terror to peaceful merchants, were brought home to him, and claims for compensation were presented by several mercantile firms in Paris. To avoid unnecessary detention and meet such pressing claims, as well as to provide himself with funds for his return journey, he borrowed a considerable sum of money from Hugh, Duke of Burgundy, with whom he enjoyed friendly relations.[2] Before starting, however, he had to appear before the King and await the verdict of the high court of France on the charge of felony which Villehardouin's envoy had brought against him. The high court met at Easter in 1260. Their decision, after long debate and due consideration of the usages of feudal law, was, according to the chronicle, unanimous.

[1] Only the Aragonese chronicle mentions the appointment of Guy de la Roche to act as bailie during the imprisonment of Villehardouin (§ 294, &c.), but it is implied in the subsequent negotiations recorded in the French and Greek texts.

[2] See documents published by Buchon in *Rech. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 385. It should be noted that Guy de la Roche in February 1260 still styles himself "Sire d'Athènes" only.

The court held that if the lord of Athens had actually performed personal homage to the Prince of Achaia, and had afterwards rebelled and fought against him in the field, he would have deserved to be dispossessed. But seeing that neither he nor his ancestors had performed homage or rendered feudal service to the Prince, and he had only taken up arms in defence of his honour and his rights as he understood them, the case did not lie. Nevertheless, inasmuch as he knew that the Marquis Bonifazio had bestowed upon the Prince's father or on Champlitte, who was lord of Morea before him, the overlordship of his lands, and, since he was therefore under the obligation to do homage, he ought never to have borne arms against Villehardouin, and in that respect had erred against his liege lord. For this error they held that the journey which he had been compelled to make in order to appear before the King was ample atonement, and the Prince should accept it as such. King Louis confirmed the decision of the court, and the grateful lord of Athens kissed his feet and begged to have the judgment duly sealed and legalised. Nor was this practical acquittal the only advantage which he reaped from his visit to the court of France, for the magnanimous Louis, who was no little gratified to find himself acknowledged as the fount of chivalry by the lords of Romania, of his own accord offered to grant him such a boon as he might desire. Guy de la Roche asked for and obtained the title of Duke of Athens, on the plea that his lands had conveyed such a title in ancient times.[1]

[1] There does not seem to be any justification for this claim, which is not only put forward in the chronicle, but is elaborated by Nicephorus Gregoras, who traces its origin to the reign of Constantine. Dante and Boccaccio refer it to a far earlier epoch when they give the title to the legendary Theseus, and Muntaner, who had some scanty classical learning, describes Menelaus as Duke of Athens.

The claims of Villehardouin to the homage of the Megaskyr were, it appears, considered well grounded, and when the suzerainty of Achaia was ceded by the Emperor Baldwin II. to the Angevine Kings of Naples, it was taken for granted that it carried with it paramount lordship over the Dukes of Athens. Such a claim is implicitly advanced in two rescripts of Charles II., preserved in the archives at Naples, which bear the date of 1294.

Guy de la Roche hastened back to Greece, and disembarked at Clarenza. He assumed the bailieship of Achaia, and at once set free the imprisoned Eubœan triarchs, as a first step to the re-establishment of peaceful relations with the Venetian republic, which was now, in view of the new alliance of Genoa and Nicæa, more disposed to compromise on the Eubœan question. His next step was to despatch envoys to the Emperor of Nicæa, and offer a liberal ransom for the release of the Prince, but Michael remained obdurate to such advances. It was on the 25th July 1261 that Cæsar Alexius Melissenus Strategopoulus, who was leading an expedition into Epirus, where the star of the Despot was once more in the ascendant, seized a favourable opportunity when the fleet was absent from Constantinople, and suddenly diverting his march advanced on the well-nigh defenceless city, which he carried by a bold *coup de main* with his force of 800 horsemen. A month later Michael Palæologus made his triumphant entry through the Golden Gate, bringing in his train the Moreote prisoners, whose prospects of release must now have appeared more hopeless than ever.

Baldwin, accompanied in his flight by the Patriarch and the Venetian Podesta, landed at Negripont

and went on to Thebes. He was received with due honour by Guy de la Roche, the triarchs of Eubœa, and the remnant of the Frankish nobles who had survived the disaster of Pelagonia. The state of the country, and the fact that so many of the ablest leaders were detained as prisoners in the hands of the enemy, made it clear that he could count on little practical aid from his feudatories in central and southern Greece, where a certain number of his followers, who elected to remain, eventually received signories from Villehardouin. He therefore went on to Clarenza, and crossed into Apulia, where he was royally entertained by Manfred. He was, however, shrewd enough to realise that the friendship of the bastard Hohenstaufen would not greatly further a cause to which the active co-operation of the Roman curia was indispensable, and after a short stay he pursued his weary pilgrimage to Venice and thence to France.

The reorganisation of the distracted empire, after the recovery of the capital, absorbed all the energies of Michael Palæologus. The transfer of the seat of Government to Europe, and the proportional weakening of Nicæa by the ensuing repopulation of Constantinople, opened the door in Asia to the martial Turks, who were not slow to realise their opportunity. The imperial armies had not been successful in the long drawn-out struggle with the Despot of Epirus, who was constantly supported by the King of Sicily, his son-in-law. The Pope moreover was strenuously exhorting the Catholic powers to active intervention on behalf of Baldwin and a cause which appeared by no means hopeless while Venice continued to hold the islands which link the east and west, while

central Greece and the Morea remained in the hands of the Franks. His own tenure was thus far from secure. The obstinate pride of Villehardouin and the imprisoned nobles had shown no sign of wavering since their captivity. Michael was therefore now disposed to abate in some measure the rigour of the terms he had at first laid down as the condition of their release. Villehardouin on his side, after the fall of Constantinople and two years of detention, was also prepared to entertain concessions which had become inevitable. The arguments which he had put forward to the effect that it was beyond his power, even if he had the will, to surrender the lands of his peers, did not apply to those later acquisitions in the Morea which had remained in the domain of the Prince. He therefore reluctantly consented to the final conditions proposed by the Emperor for the release of himself and his fellow-prisoners,[1] subject to the ratification of the barons of his realm. These conditions included the recognition of Michael Palæologus as lawful Emperor of the Romans, the surrender of the fortresses of Monemvasia, Mistra, Maigne, and Beaufort, implicitly involving the cession of the whole of Laconia, and the provision of hostages to guarantee the execution of the terms agreed upon.[2]

[1] Pachymeres suggests that many of the Moreote barons had perished under the hardships of their prison life. (Bk. I. ch. xxxi.)

[2] The chronicle does not mention the recognition of the Emperor by Villehardouin. Pachymeres says the Prince became his vassal (δοῦλος). He also specifies Geraki among the fortresses to be surrendered, together with all the country in the theme of Cisterna, *i.e.* Beaufort, and adds that the question of Nauplia and Corinth was left undecided. Nauplia was however a fief of the Duke of Athens, which Villehardouin could not dispose of. In any case the two last were not given up. (Pach., Bk. I. ch. xxxi. ed. Niebuhr.)

The Aragonese chronicle specifies Corinth as one of the fortresses which the Prince undertook to surrender (§ 297), but states that when the other

Geoffrey of Carytena was then despatched to the Morea to submit the proposals to the bailie and the high court of Achaia. He rode overland to Thessalonica, and thence to Athens, where he found the Duke, his father-in-law, who, in spite of the depressing conditions which he had come to announce, received him as the man he most desired to see in all the world. They proceeded together to Nikli, where the high court of Achaia assembled, attended on this occasion by the Princess and the ladies of the realm, representing their absent husbands, with a few veterans such as Pierre de Vaux and the Chancellor, Leonardo da Veruli. The proposed cession of Laconia was submitted to the court, and the speeches assigned in the Chronicle of Morea to Guy de la Roche and Geoffrey of Carytena respectively represent the two points of view which divided opinion.

"Princess, lords, prelates, and knights," said the Duke of Athens, "it is fact, as each one of you well knows, that aforetime in the defence of my rights I withstood my lord the Prince. From which adventure let no man conclude that I do not desire the deliverance of my lord the Prince. But truth compels me to avow that I may never approve the surrender of these castles to the Emperor. For if the Emperor obtains possession of these fortresses, he will garrison them in such force that he will be enabled to drive us out of the country. And that no man may doubt my goodwill, if this may be done, I am ready to yield up my own person to take the

castles were handed over, the castellan refused categorically to surrender Corinth, and that the Emperor, realising that Villehardouin was not to blame, did not therefore detain him (§§ 307, 308).

place of my lord the Prince in prison. Or if money can buy his ransom, I would rather pledge all my lands, than that he should remain a prisoner."

Then the lord of Carytena rose and replied, "My lord Duke, pardon me for saying what I needs must say. Well assured am I that you love the Prince and also have at heart the good estate of the realm. All that you have just said we also said, many a time when we held debate there as we lay in prison. Had we found that there were any other way by which we might achieve the release of my lord the Prince, and of the other gentlefolk that are his companions in prison, we had rather chosen it. But now my lord the Prince hath been three years in prison, and were he to remain there the rest of his life he could hope for no other terms. Moreover ye are aware that it was messire who acquired the castle of Malvesie by conquest, Mistra and Grand Maigne he fortified himself. Now if he be willing to die in prison to advantage others, the loss is all his own. But if he cede that which he himself conquered and acquired, God will aid him to win back his own again after he is set free. Wherefore never will I suffer my lord to die in prison—No, I am for obeying his commands, and surrendering that which is his own, thereby to obtain his deliverance."

"Fair brothers," said the Duke, "I declare by my Creator, there lives no man that better loves my lord the Prince or more desires his freedom; and I am well assured that when once the Emperor knows that we will not yield these castles up for his release, he will not salt the Prince and swallow him,[1] but will accept a ransom of money. Howbeit, were it to come to that,

[1] A phrase adopted from the colloquial Greek.

and my lord the Prince were rather to choose death in prison than to abandon his country to the Greeks, he would therein prove his noble blood, even as Christ died to redeem His people, for it were better that one man should perish than a multitude. For when once these castles have been surrendered to the Greeks the Emperor will spare no effort to maintain their strength, and the populations will rebel and will put the Prince to so great pains, that he would rather choose to be back in prison than to see his people perish and himself disinherited. Now have I set forth the consequences which I dread, and do ye decide according to your will."

Sanudo, on the other hand, with great probability, maintains that the Duke of Athens urged the acceptance of these hard terms against the sounder reasoning of the barons in order that he might not be suspected of treachery. If Guy de la Roche had opposed them he in any case withdrew his opposition, and the parliament broke up after choosing the sister of Jean Chaudron, grand constable of Achaia, and Marguerite de Neuilly, the daughter of the lord of Passava, now married to Guglielmo II. da Verona, as hostages who were to be sent to Constantinople, in accordance with the harsh feudal custom which compelled the vassal to accept any sacrifice when called on by his liege lord. Upon their arrival at the court of Michael Palæologus, Villehardouin performed the act of homage to the Emperor and was confirmed in his title of grand seneschal, while the bond of union was to all outward appearance drawn closer by his standing godfather to the Emperor's youngest child, a relationship of peculiar sanctity in the eyes of the Greeks. So peace was re-established, formalities ratified and oaths exchanged,

with due reserves of conscience on the part of Villehardouin, who, accompanied by his fellow-prisoners, sailed early in 1262 for Negripont, where Guy de la Roche met him and surrendered his stewardship. The Emperor, who had now also concluded peace with the Despot Michael, lost no time in putting strong garrisons into the surrendered fortresses which he placed under the governorship of his brother Constantine.

The first obligation incumbent on the Prince, after his return to his diminished realm, was to bring to a satisfactory conclusion the protracted quarrel with Venice over Eubœa. The Venetians Lorenzo Tiepolo and Filippo Ghisi, who were his vassals for the islands of Scyros and Scopelos, conducted the preliminary negotiations, and plenipotentiaries were despatched by the republic to conclude and sign a convention which should annul all former treaties and ensure a definite settlement. The terms of peace and the future status of the island were amicably arranged, and agreements were signed on the 15th and 16th of May 1262 by Villehardouin on his own account, and the triarchs of Eubœa independently, with Andrea Barbadigo bailie of Negripont, representing the Doge. By these instruments Guglielmo da Verona, Narzotto and Grapella dalle Carceri, whose tenure in the island had in the meantime become an accomplished fact, were recognised as the triarchs of Eubœa. The conditions which existed in the days of the lady Carintana were re-established, and Villehardouin remained exclusive suzerain over the triarchs. Venice, however, retained the sea customs, granting exemptions to the triarchs, to the Prince for his own estates, and to the clergy. Jurisdiction over her subjects in the commercial quarter was reserved to the

bailie. Venetian weights and measures were to continue to be the standard, and the republic was left in possession of the buildings she held in the capital, with the exception of the palace formerly occupied by Morosini, as Villehardouin's procurator. The castle, however, was to be razed to the ground at the expense of the barons, who were authorised to build on the site, with a privilege of pre-emption in favour of Venice. All property conferred by the bailie since the death of Carintana was to be restored to the triarchs. Villehardouin guaranteed all the privileges and immunities enjoyed by Venetians in the days of Carintana throughout the whole of his principality, and finally all previous treaties with the triarchs, containing stipulations at variance with these prescriptions to the detriment of the Prince of Achaia, were rescinded.[1]

This settlement disposed for the present of the ambition of Venice to wrest from Achaia and transfer to herself the overlordship of Eubœa, which had been for years the object of her policy. In the instructions issued to succeeding bailies they were strictly enjoined to abstain from any intervention in questions of feudal tenure and territorial occupation.[2] Villehardouin vindicated his claims to suzerainty, but no longer pressed his title to the actual possession of the baronies which had been the portion of Carintana. The triarchs secured the apportionment of the island for which they had endured imprisonment and war. Venice was the principal loser, especially in the matter of prestige.

[1] Tafel and Thomas, Pt. III. cccxlviii. and cccxlix. The passage establishing the suzerainty of Villehardouin is as follows: "Nos quoque, predictus Princeps, habeamus, possideamus libere et quiete homagia et servitia dominorum insula Negripontis et reliqua omnia jura, sicut habebamus et possidebamus vel videbamur habere tempore domine Charintane."

[2] Sanudo, *Ist. di Rom.*, Pt. III.

But she was no longer in a position to dictate to her partners in Romania. The tenure of the Latins had grown precarious throughout the east, and it was of vital importance to regulate their domestic differences on a basis of mutual tolerance and concession.

CHAPTER VI

WILLIAM VILLEHARDOUIN—*(continued)*

If Villehardouin had left Constantinople with the firm resolve to avail himself of the first plausible occasion for denouncing the treaty to which he had only subscribed under the stress of compulsion, and intended to recommence the struggle as soon as a favourable opportunity should present itself, it is probable that Michael Palæologus on his side was no less anxious to be absolved from his obligation to keep the peace, and that, having now secured a footing in the Peloponnese, he welcomed any pretext for renewing hostilities against the Franks, whose presence in the territories of the empire was a standing reproach to his pride. Such a pretext was readily found.

Soon after the Byzantine forces had taken possession of Mistra and the other fortresses, towards the end perhaps of 1262,[1] Villehardouin made a progress to Lacedæmonia with an imposing retinue. It does not seem to have been clearly laid down what precise extent of territory was to be surrendered with the fortresses, but the spirit of his engagement seemed to imply the cession of the whole of Laconia, although it is possible that some portion of that province had been

[1] Both in the Chronicle of Morea, which deals with the ensuing period very fully, and in the Byzantine historians, the chronology is far from clear, and there is considerable difficulty in unravelling the tangled web of the story. Pachymeres, with much less detail, gives a general confirmation to the story told in the chronicle (*v.* Bk. III. 16 and 17).

included in the original area of conquest.[1] Lacedæmonia moreover was only situated some four or five miles from Mistra, so that the prince's visit might well be interpreted as an act of provocation, and it seems probable that he hoped his presence in the neighbourhood would lead to a demonstration in his favour. He maintained, however, that he was entirely within his rights in going to Lacedæmonia, and that he was accompanied by an armed retinue solely for the protection of his person, while traversing the hostile country of the Tzaconians. In any case the garrison of Mistra took alarm and summoned the Melings to their aid, while the governor of Monemvasia, a Cantacuzenus, despatched a galley to Constantinople with the welcome news that the Prince had violated the treaty.

And so once more, with mutual recrimination, war broke out in the beginning of 1263. A large number of Turkish mercenaries from Anatolia, under the leadership of two emirs, were taken into the imperial service, and two armies were simultaneously organised, the one entrusted to Johannes Palæologus, to invade the territories of the Despot of Epirus, with whom peace had proved equally short-lived; the other under the command of the Sebastocrator Constantine, supported by Cantacuzenus, Alexius Philes, and Macrinus, to invade and recover the Morea. A fleet was at the same time despatched under the Protostrator Alexius Philanthropinus, to raid the coasts of the peninsula and the islands which were held by Franks or Venetians. The Slavs of the mountains and the Tzaconians readily transferred their allegiance to the Greeks, and Laconia

[1] See ch. iii.

was occupied by the imperial troops without a struggle.[1] Villehardouin had summoned his feudatories from central Greece and the islands. He was loyally supported by Guglielmo della Carcere from Eubœa, but the death of the Duke of Athens, which took place about this time, deprived him of a powerful ally, and the levies were slow to join his standard. He therefore evacuated Laconia, leaving only a small garrison to maintain itself in Lacedæmonia, while he marched north to Corinth to superintend the muster of the feudal army. The imperial generals thereupon decided to concentrate in Elis and attack Andravida, the capital. Marching by the ranges of Chelmos on Veligosti, they burned the town, but were unable to wrest the fortress from its handful of defenders. They then entered the plain of Megalopolis and divided their forces. One army made its way through the Arcadian mountains, where the villages were handed over to the Turks to raid, as far as Calavryta, which surrendered, and was now lost for good by the house of Tournay.

The other army continued its advance through the valley of the Alpheius, unchallenged by the lord of Carytena, who was absent with his Prince at Corinth. On their line of march lay the monastery of Isova. Not far from the left bank of the Alpheius, nearly opposite the junction of the Erymanthus or Douana, the Benedictines had founded a stately abbey in one of these peaceful and fertile spots which the monastic orders of old knew so well to choose for the sites of

[1] The Aragonese chronicle here tells a story, omitted in the French and Greek versions, of an attempt made by the Strategus to sow distrust between the lord of Carytena and his Greek adherents, which was defeated through the excellent understanding prevailing between Geoffrey and the local population (§§ 312–331). The Catalan history here appears to have been compiled from some text materially different from those which have come down to us.

their great establishments. Its ruins, with lofty Gothic windows framing the mountain terraces, still stand in the happy valley, and are known to the country folk as Palati. A battalion of Turks returning from the Arcadian highlands joined the Sebastocrator and set fire to the monastery, burning down the abbey church, dedicated to our Lady of Isova. Thence marching on towards the plains of Elis, they pitched their camp at Prinitza,[1] near the right bank of the Alpheius, at the entrance to the plains.

Villehardouin, when he marched to Corinth, had placed in charge of his lands and capital a vassal of Geoffrey of Carytena, a certain Jean de Catavas,[2] who was so crippled by rheumatism, that he could be of little service in the field, though he was a soldier of experience and reputation. In the moment of crisis, when the Greek armies had overrun a great part of the principality without encountering resistance, when Elis and Andravida lay defenceless before them, this remarkable man by his energy and devoted gallantry saved the desperate situation of the Franks. He collected from the garrison of the castles the few men-at-arms who were available, and with difficulty mustered a little band of three hundred and twelve horsemen, with whom he hastened to meet the invaders. At Crestina, south of the Alpheius, he learned that they were encamped at Prinitza, and crossing the river he came up through a narrow defile in their rear. An hour before the sun rose over the mountains, in the half light of morning, he found himself close up to

[1] Leake conjectures that Pyrgos occupies the site of Prinitza. *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 155.

[2] Τξὰν δε Καταβᾶ in the Greek version; Carevas (Carabas?) in the French; Miser Zuan de Caritena in the Italian translation.

the Greek camp. Then Messire Jean de Catavas addressed his men.

"My lords and friends, brothers and dear companions, an hour has come of which we should be right glad, and we should thank God that He has deigned to guide us thither, where we may triumph over so numerous an enemy. Hold firm, my friends, and let not your hearts misgive you at the sight of this great multitude. It is far better for us that they should be many in number, than few and of one race. These men are strangers one to the other, coming from different countries, but they have to fight against tried Frankish veterans. Let us show a bold front, and impetuously bear them down with our lances. Let us have in mind the labours which our lords and our fathers endured to conquer these lands which we possess, and prove ourselves worthy of the arms we bear, the fiefs we hold, and the respect of our fellow-men. And if, my lords and comrades, God give us grace to triumph in one fight by virtue of our swords over the brother of the Emperor and his host, then, so long as the ark of God shall rest on the mountain of Ararat, shall live the praise of this day on the lips of men. As for me, as you all see and know, I cannot bear sword nor lance in my hand, either for defence or attack. But to give good proof of courage and show myself worthy of you, I desire to carry the banner of the Prince. Bind it fast, therefore, to my arm that I may bear it stoutly. From here I see the tent of the grand-domestic. I swear to you by Christ to march straight for that tent, and if any one of you shall see me flinch or tremble, I declare him the enemy of Christ if he do not then and there cut me down."

And so with the banner, bearing the anchored

cross of Villehardouin, lashed to his crippled hand, he placed himself at the head of his little troop as they emerged from the defile into the open plain. Three battles consisting of about a thousand horsemen rode out to meet them. The Franks halted and received their charge with levelled lances. Nearly a third of their number were thrown to the ground by the shock of the encounter, but quickly remounting they used their long swords with terrible effect among the arrested squadrons. Then reforming their ranks and drawing their short swords they galloped through the camp, cutting down the unarmed Greeks as the reaper mows the corn, and followed their heroic leader towards the tent of the Sebastocrator Constantine, which was pitched above the village of Prinitza. The word went through their ranks that in their midst beside their leader rode a mysterious white horseman. It was St. George, who was fighting for the Franks to avenge the sacrilege of Isova! No rally now could check their fiery onslaught. As he waited in the door of his tent for a report of the annihilation of this little band the Sebastocrator was suddenly aware of the banner of Villehardouin close upon him. With difficulty he was got to horse, and escaped from the disastrous field, guided through difficult mountain paths till he reached the safe shelter of Mistra. His flight was the signal for a general rout, and the panic-stricken Greeks concealed themselves as best they might in the dense forest country of Prinitza. The abandoned camp was plundered and a thousand horses fell into the hands of the victorious Franks, who after resting from the fatigues of their glorious day, marched to Vlisiri whence the welcome news was despatched to the Prince.[1]

[1] In the French version the record of this battle is wanting.

The force which Villehardouin had collected at Corinth was not sufficiently powerful to enable him to follow up this victory and attempt the recovery of Laconia. The Sebastocrator had therefore ample time to reorganise his demoralised army and prepare for a new campaign. The chronicle relates that a Frankish nobleman in the service of the Emperor advised him to remodel his tactics, pointing out that the western horsemen in their saddles were each of them a match for twenty of his men. At the battle of Pelagonia, when the Germans and the Franks met in the shock of the first encounter, the bowmen had drawn on friend and foe alike, and by killing the horses had reduced the advantage of the enemy, since on foot they were no better than other men. He also urged an immediate advance on Andravida, whither the Prince had now brought in his levies, and proposed a scheme for luring the Frankish horsemen into an ambush of archers by a simulated attack with the lance. Macrinus and Cantacuzenus, however, when called into council, were against further immediate operations; Andravida, they said, had now been provided with defences; the season was far advanced, and a winter campaign was not to be lightly undertaken. Their advice prevailed and the troops were withdrawn into winter quarters. The Pope, Urban IV., took advantage of this pause in hostilities to renew the efforts he had already made to bring about a peaceful settlement,[1] but without success, and on the renewal of hostilities he afforded the Prince of Achaia material assistance for the defence of his realm.

So the winter passed, spent by the Prince in strengthening the defences of Andravida, and con-

[1] Urban IV. *Ep. III.* 188, 189.

solidating his army. With the return of spring the Sebastocrator mustered his forces in the plains of Apicus, where he was joined by the Melings and the Tzaconians with contingents from Monemvasia and the mountains of Escorta. Once more they marched across the plain of Megalopolis, and encountering no resistance at Carytena entered the gorges of the Alpheius, which the disaffection of the Escortans opened to them, and so reached Prinitza, the scene of their former disaster. Thence their guides conducted them northwards by Sergiana to a hermitage or chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas of Mesikli, where the headquarters spent the night. In the morning they were aware of the Frankish chivalry riding down to meet them, and halting in their serried formation. The little band of horsemen which confronted the hordes of the Sebastocrator drawn up in their three battles, excited the derision of the Greeks, and Cantacuzenus, the military commandant, riding out between the rival ranks and brandishing his mace, addressed them in terms of contumely, hoping, it would seem, to provoke them to charge into the midst of his archers. As if to rebuke his pride and exultation, his charger stumbled and threw him violently to the ground. The Franks, who till now had held firm, then ran in and despatched him where he lay, and a brief skirmish ensued over his dead body, which was eventually recovered by the Byzantines. So dismayed, however, was the Sebastocrator by the death of his captain that he declined battle and withdrew, retreating on Nikli, which he proceeded to invest.

The pay of the Turkish mercenaries was six months in arrear, and their repeated demands for money were characterised as importunate in view of the rich booty

they had been suffered to acquire by raiding the Frankish fiefs. Their disaffection was also in a large measure due to the obvious incapacity and cowardice of the Byzantine leaders, in whose service they saw little prospect of gaining the prizes which fall to the successful soldier of fortune. Their leaders therefore denounced the contract they had made with the Emperor, and led off the best troops in the heterogeneous army of the Sebastocrator to Carytena, with the intention of offering their services to Villehardouin. Two archons followed them to parley with the Emirs, but their overtures were rejected and the Turks marched on to Beauregard,[1] whence they sent messengers to Andravida. Villehardouin deputed Ancelin de Toucy to treat with them. Ancelin, one of the nobles who after the fall of the Frankish empire had settled in the Morea, was familiar with the language of the Turks, many of whom had formerly enrolled themselves in the imperial armies. Their offer of service was accepted and Ancelin was entrusted with the management of the Turkish legion.

Strengthened by these reinforcements the Prince took the field again, and learning that the Greeks had surrounded Veligosti, and were holding the pass of Macry-plagi which connects that fortress with Calamata, he marched southward into the plains of Messenia to dislodge them. The Sebastocrator had in the meantime returned to Constantinople, leaving the army in the Peloponnese under the command of Macrinus and the grand-domestic Alexius Philes.[2] The battle promised to be a decisive one, but the Franks, who had crossed the plain and halted at the

[1] Περιγάρδι of the Greek version, *i.e.* Elis.
[2] Pachymeres, *de Mich. Pal.*, iii. 17.

foot of the long spine of Macry-plagi, had a difficult task to perform in carrying their attack uphill into the jaws of the pass. Ancelin de Toucy claimed and obtained the privilege of leading the first battle. He was doubly interested in the success of the operations, for his brother Philippe de Toucy, afterwards high admiral of Sicily, was a prisoner in Constantinople, where he had been detained since the flight of Baldwin, and he hoped by securing the persons of the Byzantine leaders to be in a position to effect an exchange in his brother's favour. It was decided that the Turkish mercenaries, whose fidelity to the Prince had not yet been put to the test, should form the centre, while the rear was commanded by Villehardouin himself. So with prayers to the "blessed baron St. George" for victory they advanced to the attack. The pass into Macry-plagi broadening out towards the plain, narrows as it ascends, shut in by precipitous mountains, whose slopes rise under a mantle of verdure which disguises their real steepness, to their highest point in Hellenitza. The Byzantine vanguard which held the top of the pass under the leadership of a certain Caballarius, repulsed the first onslaught of the Frankish chivalry, but Ancelin succeeded in rallying his troop and, charging home once more, carried the crest of the ridge and drove the enemy back on their second and third battles, which as usual fled in panic. The Turks hastening up to the support of Ancelin completed the rout, and pushing on impetuously into the ruck of the fugitives, slaughtered the rank and file, while they made prisoners of the officers, with whom they had an account to settle.

One of his esquires or sergeants now brought word

to Ancelin that some of the leaders had taken refuge in a cave at no great distance, cut off by the pursuing Turks. He guided Ancelin to the spot, a cavern or grotto masked by projecting buttresses of rock under the height on which the castle of Gardiki was subsequently built. The spot is easy to identify to-day in the ravine which leads to the mossy crag, detached from the sheer flank of Hellenitza, on which the ruins of Gardiki stand. There he found Alexius Philes, Macrinus, and Caballarius, who were betrayed by the magnificence of their arms, and conducted them to the presence of the Prince at Veligosti. With them upwards of three hundred and fifty archons and notables were taken prisoners.

The victory was indeed decisive, and on the following day the chiefs of Escorta came in to crave for pardon, which the Prince on the prayer of his barons graciously accorded. He then summoned the Byzantine leaders, and reproached them with their Emperor's breach of faith, in making war upon him in defiance of oath and treaty, which perjury God had punished by their signal defeat at Prinitza and now again at Macryplagi. The grand-domestic retorted that it was the Prince who had broken his engagements and commenced hostilities, wherefore he did wrong to glory in his victory, and ought rather to have in mind his own discomfiture at Pelagonia and reflect on the unequal chances of war. Nevertheless, he protested, since he was now the Prince's prisoner, he must crave pardon for his freedom of speech, and could only plead his duty to defend his master the Emperor from all reproach. Villehardouin replied that he had never intended aggression nor infringed the terms of his covenant, but that the Emperor had been misled by

the false reports he had received from Mistra and Monemvasia. He had gone to Lacedæmonia, escorted by an armed following solely for the protection of his own person, mistrusting the turbulent Melings and Tzaconians, the truth of which he called God to witness. The grand-domestic was then interned in the fortress of Clairmont, while the other prisoners were distributed among the various castles of the barons.[1]

Villehardouin then proceeded to Lacedæmonia, whither Ancelin de Toucy and Jean de Catavas led the Moreote army.[2] They found the city abandoned, and all the Greek inhabitants transferred to Mistra. The Prince accordingly recolonised it with Latins and other Greeks upon whose fidelity he could count, and laid up large stores of forage and provisions, which he collected from the hostile districts of Tzaconia, Helos, and Vatica, lifting cattle and raiding up to the borders of Monemvasia.

The central figure of this campaign is Ancelin de Toucy, who now fills the place which Geoffroi de Bruyères should by right have taken. But the gallant and unstable lord of Carytena was once more in disgrace with his Prince. Although now married for some ten years to Isabella de la Roche, daughter of Guy I., Duke of Athens, whose influence was at one time so great with him that she had persuaded him to

[1] The grand-domestic Alexius Philes died shortly afterwards in his prison, according to Pachymeres, who mentions this defeat without giving details. Macrinus was accused at Constantinople by the mother-in-law of Alexius of having treacherously led the army into an ambuscade. His release was negotiated by Michael Palæologus in exchange for Frankish prisoners, among whom no doubt was Philippe de Toucy, and on his return his eyes were put out. (Pachymeres, *de Mich. Pal.*, iii. 17; *Corpus*, pp. 208-9.)

[2] *G.-C.*, 5597, &c. The French version substitutes Jean de St. Omer "the marshal" for Catavas, an obvious error, inasmuch as St. Omer did not become marshal of Achaia until after his marriage with Marguerite de Neuilly, many years later.

take her father's side in his quarrel with Villehardouin, he had fallen a victim to the charms of the young wife of his own vassal Jean de Catavas, the crippled hero of Prinitza, and had carried her off to Italy. The story of his second disaffection is thus told in the chronicles:—

"At this time, while the Prince was fighting his battles in his realm, the lord of Carytena, who was accounted one of the best knights in the world, was not in the Morea, for sin and his evil star tempted him to do an unseemly thing, through lust of woman, which misguideth many of the wisest of this world, bringing death and shame in life. They so misled this noble knight, that he came to love a lady who was the wife of one of his knights, messire Jehan de Catavas[1] by name, and she was the fairest lady in all Romania. That he might the more easily accomplish his transgression with this lady, he put abroad that he had made a vow to go upon a pilgrimage to Rome, and to the shrine of St. Nicholas at Bari, and to Mount St. Angelo[2] in Apulia. Then he took the lady and such company as seemed good to him, and passed over into Apulia. And when King Manfred of Allemain, who was at that time King of Sicily and Apulia, knew that the lord of Carytena, who had such high renown as ever a knight might have, was come to his land, he made inquiry concerning him, and sought to learn for what purpose he had come thither. But one of those that were of his company, who knew the whole matter, told the King that for love of a lady was he come thither under pretext of a pilgrimage, which lady was the wife of one of his knights, whom he had carried away from

[1] Carevas.

[2] A monastery on Monte St. Angelo near Manfredonia.

her husband. When the King had assured himself of the truth of this report, he sent for the lord of Carytena, being minded to see him and converse with him. Two knights therefore went to summons him to speak with the King. And the lord of Carytena sought the presence of the King right gladly, and when he stood before him he saluted him and made such obeisance as should be made to a king. And the King received him honourably, and entreated him as a valiant knight and one of high renown. Then he caused him to sit by his side and inquired why and for what adventure he had come to his realm. And the lord of Carytena replied that he had come in the fulfilment of a vow to his land of Apulia, and that he was desirous, God willing, to go to Rome. But King Manfred, who well knew the real occasion of his coming, was sad at heart to see so noble a knight in such a pass, and yet more so when he thought of the Prince, for such ribaldry abandoned in the midst of so great a war. 'Nay,' he replied, 'lord of Carytena, be well assured that I know why you are come hither. Now, because I know that you are of great renown and one of the most valiant knights of Christendom, and because the occasion of your coming is ill to speak of, I will say nothing more in public audience nor have regard to your misprision, for you have deserved to lose your head, since you have deserted Prince William, your liege lord, in the hardest war that ever he was engaged in, and you have broken faith to your vassal, to whom you were bound by the tie of honour, and of whom I have heard tell that he is one of the best knights of Romania, and you have carried off his wife. Now therefore I declare unto you in few words, that, because of your good name and fame, I will not visit

you with the punishment which is your due, but I require you within eight days to quit my realm and return to your liege lord, and aid him in the war in which he is engaged. And if after the said term has expired I shall find you in my realms I will exact the penalty of you, as against a man who has abandoned his liege lord at the time of his dire need.' "

To this command the lord of Carytena submitted with the best grace he might, finding no excuse which he might honourably advance, and so he made his way back to Clarenza. In the meantime, encouraged by the absence of the powerful baron who held their mountains under control, the populations of Escorta and the highlands of Arcadia had once more broken out into rebellion and were laying siege to the castles of Bucelet[1] and Carytena. The Prince had therefore been compelled to renounce the hope of retaking Mistra, and thereby reuniting the whole peninsula under his rule. Leaving Lacedæmonia strongly garrisoned and well provisioned, he had withdrawn to Veligosti. From there he despatched Ancelin de Toucy with the Turkish mercenaries to reduce Escorta by fire and sword. The Turks, eager for the rich booty which the prosperity of Arcadia promised, carried out his mandate with such effect that it was not long before the mountaineers sent a deputation to sue for peace, which the barons persuaded the Prince to grant, out of their regard for the erring lord of Carytena, whose country was thus being reduced to ruin. Malik and his Turks were therefore recalled, and soon afterwards they were paid off and marched away northwards into Vlachia, whence they hoped to find a passage to their own land. A certain number, however, remained in the service of

[1] Araklovon. See p. 114.

the Prince, and were baptized into Christianity. They took wives from the women of the country where, in view of the dearth of population, their presence was not unwelcome, and their descendants settled down in the districts of Rhenta and Bunarvi. A few of them even obtained the honour of knighthood and were granted fiefs in the Morea.

Meanwhile the lord of Carytena arrived at Andravida, where Villehardouin then held his court, and sought an asylum with the monks of St. Nicholas of Carmel, while the barons and notables, as ever ready to plead for the popular hero, interceded with the justly indignant Prince. The repentant Geoffrey appeared before his liege lord with a halter round his neck in the church of St. Sophia, where the parliaments were held, while the barons craved his mercy, reminding the Prince of the ties of blood and kin, and pleading that it was ordained of God that he should be forgiven, since he had repented of his sin. So after long debate the Prince was moved to pardon him, and restored him his lands once more, but, as on the occasion of his former defection, by a new act of gift, and without the privileges acquired by original conquest.

It is apparent that this account of the trial and pardon of Geoffrey as given in the chronicle is practically a repetition of what took place at the parliament of Nikli after the defeat of Guy de la Roche at Carydi. Sanudo on the other hand, with greater probability, states that it was Manfred himself who pleaded with Villehardouin for Geoffrey's pardon. Being anxious to reconcile the most famous soldier of the Morea with the Prince, his brother-in-law, he despatched the lord of Carytena in his own ships with letters and presents and a reinforcement of horse

and foot to Clarenza. Returning with this welcome assistance and Manfred's recommendation he found it easy to make his peace.[1] Geoffrey was now ordered to Nikli to defend the eastern outposts of the principality against the Greeks of Mistra, and he remained ever after the loyal servant of his Prince.

The Emperor Michael Palæologus had now realised that the reconquest of the Peloponnese would be no easy task, and having ample occupation for his energies in other directions, he made a proposal to Villehardouin to settle their differences by a dynastic marriage.[2] The Prince of Achaia was still without male heirs, and had as yet but one daughter, Isabella, the child of the Greek Princess Anna Comnena, to whom a second daughter, Margaret, was born about this time. Michael proposed that his own son Andronicus should take up his residence at the court of Villehardouin, with a view to his eventually marrying Isabella and succeeding to Achaia on the death of the prince. This proposal met with the determined opposition of the Frankish barons, and Villehardouin had no option but to decline any overtures for a settlement on such a basis.

In the meanwhile Venice, after maintaining the war at sea with varying success since the recovery of the capital by the Greeks, had initiated negotiations for peace and despatched envoys to Constantinople, in anticipation of an intended attack by the Byzantine fleet on Eubœa, from whose harbours the pirate ships of the triarchs terrorised the whole archipelago. In June 1265 the basis of an agreement was drafted,[3] which was eventually ratified with certain modifica-

[1] Sanudo, *Ist. di Rom.*, p. 117. [2] Ibid., p. 118.
[3] Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, iii. 62–89.

tions in 1268. Coron, Modon, Crete, and the islands of the archipelago which were subject to the Doge, were guaranteed to him on the condition that he should not oppose the recovery of Eubœa. Venice was to have full enjoyment of her actual possessions in the island, and trading quarters were to be reserved to her in Thessalonica, Volenos, Ænos, Adramyttium, Smyrna, Ania, and at Stenon in Constantinople. The ambassadors of the republic proposed as a condition the expulsion of the Genoese from the empire and the cancelling of the Treaty of Nymphæum. In return for the humiliation of her hereditary foe, Venice was prepared to become the ally of Palæologus, to abandon her old brothers-in-arms, the Franks of Romania, and pledge herself to give neither support nor countenance to the enterprises of Charles of Anjou, to whom already in 1262 Urban had offered the throne of Sicily, and who now, bearing the banner of the Church and rallying round him all the elements which looked to the restoration of the Latin ascendency, appeared as a menacing cloud on the horizon of the east.

The lifelong struggle of Frederick II. with the papacy, and his efforts, premature and unappreciated, to free mankind from the cramping yoke of an intolerant and overbearing priesthood, had terminated in 1250 with his death in tragic isolation among his Saracens at Luceria. Of his children none were present at his lonely deathbed save Manfred, the son of the beautiful Bianca Lancia. Conrad, the legitimate heir, who was maintaining the struggle with William of Holland, the rival pretender to the empire, far away in the north, succeeded by his will to the kingdom of Germany, while Manfred, who alone of his illegitimate

children is mentioned in that document, was to govern as his representative in Italy and Sicily. Not four years later Conrad IV. also perished after a brief career of victory in Italy, ever fatal to the race of Hohenstaufen, while Conradin, as his only son came to be called, was left in Bavaria a child but two years old. The regency in Italy and Sicily passed to Manfred, on whom as the champion of the Ghibelline cause fell the mantle of Frederick, and with it the undying hatred of the Church. Italian by birth and manners, he was able to identify the national with the Ghibelline cause, and dared to aspire not only to the throne of Italy, but even to the imperial crown.

The successes of his partisans in Tuscany, the homage paid to Manfred by Siena, and the conversion of Florence after the battle on the Arbia, compelled the Church and the demoralised Guelphs to look for assistance abroad. This disposition was encouraged by the elevation to the papal chair of Urban IV., a French priest, the son of a shoemaker in Troyes. The throne of Sicily which had been proposed to Henry III. of England, and by him accepted for his son Edmund, but subsequently renounced, was in 1262 offered by Urban to Charles of Anjou, the youngest brother of Louis IX. of France. Charles had married Beatrix, the elder daughter of Raymond Berengar, last Count of Provence, who as her father's heiress brought her husband the territories of Forcalquier and Provence. Her sisters had all made great marriages. Margaret of Provence was Queen of France, Eleanor Queen of England, while Sancia as bride of Richard of Cornwall claimed the title of Empress. The early historians ascribe to the jealousy felt by Countess Beatrix of the exalted positions occupied by her

younger sisters, the determination of Charles of Anjou to persist in an enterprise against which his brother St. Louis had protested as a violation of public right, and have recorded his oath never to rest until his wife was also crowned a queen.[1] But the boundless energy and ambition of that sinister prince, with the grim face which was never seen to smile, needed no stimulus to induce him to accept the great part which the Guelphs of Italy had invited him to play. Urban IV. did not live to see his plans realised, but upon his death in 1264 another French Pope replaced him in Clement IV. In the following spring Charles embarked at Marseilles, leaving the bulk of his army, which had been raised on the crusading tithes of Europe and the promise of the spoils of Italy, to make its way overland from the north. After successfully weathering a storm which dispersed the fleet of Manfred, he landed with a small following at Ostia. Fortune favoured his daring, and the Guelphs of Rome came out to escort him to the gates of the city which he reached on Whitsun eve. Manfred issued a dignified protest to the Romans, in

[1] The story of the slight which her sisters put upon the Countess of Anjou at a ceremonial meeting between the Kings of France and England is recorded at length in the chronicle of Morea. Villani and Muntaner also refer to the episode. "Donc, pour ce que la contesse s'asist ygal avec elles et ne leur porta nulle reverence come a roynes, la roine de France, qui estoit la seconde suer apres la contesse d'Anjo, si lui va dire ainxi: 'Certes, contesse, vous ne faites mie vostre devoir, quant vous ne portés reverence a nous deux roines, qui somes les plus nobles et riches dames dou monde, et vous séés aygal de nous; car il ne vous asiert mie, pour la dignité et la poissance que Dieu nous a donée plus de vous. Si le deveriés cognoistre.' Et quant la noble contesse oy ceste parole et ramprove que sa suer lui disoit, de la grant honte qu'elle ot si ne pot soner mot, ne ne vot plus seoir avec les deux roines ses suers; ains se leva de present, sans congié prendre; et s'em ala droit à son ostel et entra droit en ses chambres, et commença à faire le plus grant dueil du monde, du grand despit que elle ot de ce que sa suer lui ot dit." When the Count of Anjou heard the story of his wife's discomfiture, he swore:—

"Par le paterne Dieu, qui est mon serement, je ne seray jamais aise ny a' repos, fin à tant que vous serés roine coronée." (*F. C.*, pp. 202-3.)

which he asserted his title to rule over nearly the whole of Italy, over Sardinia and Tunis beyond the sea, and over a great part of Romania, the portion of Helena of Epirus. This was the inheritance of which, at the summons of the Pope, Charles had come to take forcible possession.

Meanwhile the Provençal army, ill equipped, unpaid, and led by chiefs whose names ominously recalled the Albigensian horrors, moved southward under the banner of the Cross, spreading devastation in its path. No resistance was offered by the Ghibellines of Northern Italy or Tuscany, and if Charles had little immediate prospect of satisfying the clamour of his ragged legions, he was at any rate relieved by their arrival from the danger, to which his foolhardy race to Rome had exposed him, of remaining isolated in a hostile country. On the 6th of January 1266, Charles and Beatrix were crowned in St. Peter's by a delegation of five cardinals representing the absent Pope, and a fortnight later he led his starving army towards the promised land.

If the depletion of his treasury and reluctance of the western nations to respond to the Pope's appeal on behalf of this so-called crusade made it imperative for Charles no longer to delay the issue of battle, the gallant but unfortunate son of Frederick was impelled by reasons no less cogent to grapple with his adversary forthwith. Treason was rife among the heterogeneous elements of which his kingdom was composed, and every day's delay increased the disaffection among his superstitious adherents, awed by the dread of the interdict and intimidated by monkish emissaries, the weapons of the Church that are ill to fight against. With restless energy Charles pushed forward and finding the line of the Ceprano abandoned, crossed

without opposition. One by one the unstable cities of the south opened their gates, and the fortresses of Campania capitulated to the terror of his name. On the 25th of February the rival armies faced each other at Benevento, and on the following day was fought the bloody and eventful fight which ended in the discomfiture and death of Manfred. It was no conventional battle of chivalry. The cavaliers of Provence were followed by foot soldiers who ran in and clubbed the unhorsed knights to death. Once more, as at the passage of the Ceprano, "craven each Apulian proved," and, when the German lines were broken, the Italian reserves turned and fled without waiting to be attacked. Manfred, scorning to save himself by flight from the stricken field, sought death in the ranks of the enemy. His body, stripped of his arms, was found two days later lying naked where he had fallen, and buried under a cairn of stones raised by the French soldiers in honour of the illustrious dead. It remained for the bishop of Cosenza, at the bidding of the Pope, to tear the body of the excommunicated King from this honourable resting-place and fling it out to rot on the banks of the Liris. A massacre of the helpless population of Benevento followed. To crown the tragic story the cowled spies of Clement, following up the traces of the widowed Queen and her infant children in their flight, discovered them in the castle of Trani waiting to embark for Epirus. By terrifying the castellan with the menace of eternal torments, they prevailed upon him to raise the drawbridge and detain them pending the orders of the conqueror. The Provençal horsemen followed close behind. The fair young Princess of Epirus, now only in her twenty-fifth year, was brought to Nocera and imprisoned for the

remainder of her broken life in the Castello del Parco, where she died in 1271. Her daughter Beatrice and her three sons were transferred three years later to the Castello del Ovo at Naples, where they grew up in a living death.[1]

The butcher of Benevento and his haughty queen entered Naples in triumph, amidst the acclamations of its fickle population and, not six weeks after he had set out from Rome, Charles of Anjou was master of the Italian inheritance of the Hohenstaufens with its Norman appanage in Epirus.

All the efforts of Baldwin II. to enlist adherents in the west for a new expedition to recover his forfeit throne had remained without practical success. Promises he had bought in plenty with nominal grants from portions of his vanished empire, and negotiations were in progress with the Duke of Burgundy, lately invested with the kingdom of Thessalonica, to whose shadowy crown there were already many pretenders. But in the west there was no real heart for the cause, and he bent his footsteps southwards once more. Charles of Anjou had just succeeded in what might well have seemed a desperate enterprise, and on the ambition of that energetic monarch, who had already a foothold in Romania, he rested his latest hopes. On the 27th May 1267 a treaty was concluded between Baldwin and Charles at the papal court in Viterbo, with the full assent of Clement IV., and counter-

[1] Beatrice alone regained her liberty, which was demanded by the victorious Roger de Luria, as admiral of Peter of Aragon, in 1284. She found a refuge at the court of Sicily with her half-sister Constance, "genetrice Dell'onor di Cicilia e d'Aragona" and married Mainfroi de Saluces. Her three brothers who had grown up in prison were at the same time removed to the Castello del Monte, near Trani, where they were kept in irons. Charles II. of Naples showed some small degree of mercy to these unfortunate sons of Manfred, and in 1299 brought them back to Naples. The last survivor of this ill-fated race was still alive in 1309, having been forty years a prisoner.

signed by Leonardo da Veruli, Chancellor of Achaia, sent to represent the interests of Villehardouin, which were so largely affected by this instrument. Baldwin transferred to Charles of Anjou the sovereignty over Achaia, which must be taken as including the duchy of Athens and the baronies of central Greece; the islands of the archipelago dependent on the empire, with the exception of Lesbos, Chios, Samos, and Cos; the dowerlands of Helena in Epirus, which had hitherto been administered by Philippe Eschinard as Manfred's bailie, including Corfu and the mainland opposite the island between Butrinto and Valona; and finally, a third part of all the conquered territory they should together acquire in war. Charles on his part undertook within a term of six years to provide a force of two thousand knights, or else to take the field in person for the reconquest of the empire. Constantinople itself, with the four islands specified, and two-thirds of the area recovered by conquest, was to be the portion of Baldwin, but grants already bestowed upon other princes were to be made good from his share.[1] Baldwin's son Philip was to marry Beatrix, daughter of Charles of Anjou, and in the event of a failure of heirs, the reversion of the whole empire was to fall in to the

[1] The following is the passage in the treaty respecting the cession of Morea: "Vos autem onus quod pro ipsius Imperii recuperatione suscepimus attendentes, præterea nobis nostrisque in regno prædicto heredibus, in præsentia sanctissimi patris et domini C. divina providentia Papæ quarti, ac ipso insuper consentiente, et ad infrascripta auctoritatem præstante, ceditis, datis, conceditis, et donatis ex nunc Feodum prædicti Principatus Achaiæ et Moreæ, *ac totam terram quam tenet quocumque titulo, seu tenere debet a vobis*, et ipso imperio Guillermus de Villa Harduini, Princeps Achaiæ et Moreæ, ac Imperialia et quælibet alia jura, quæcumque habetis seu habere possetis, aut vobis competunt, vel possent quoquomodo competere in Feodo, Principatu et terra prædictis, Feodum, Principatum et jura eadem prorsus ab ipso separantes Imperio, eaque omnia et singula a vobis, vestrisque successoribus, et eodem Imperio totaliter abdicantes." (Du Cange, *Hist. of Conple.*, supplement.) The words marked in italics would include the baronies outside the Morea, over which Villehardouin claimed and exercised overlordship.

King of the Sicilies, reservation being made only of the rights of Venice. The republic, however, had already negotiated a treaty of alliance with Palæologus, which was confirmed in the following year. Nothing came of the contract which the Frankish Emperor had concluded with the Duke of Burgundy, nor of a similar agreement with Count Thibaut of Champagne, King of Navarre, to whom he had offered a quarter of his prospective conquests. Such portions of Romania as were still actually in the hands of the Franks thus passed irrevocably under the influence of Charles of Anjou, whose pensioner the Emperor henceforth became. He occupied a palace in Naples, where he maintained a small retinue, and continued to cherish vain hopes of restoration until his death in 1273, when his son, Philippe de Courtenay, succeeded to his aspirations and his titular crown.

Meanwhile the last survivor of the race of Hohenstaufen, the youthful Conrad, known in history by the diminutive name of Conradin, was preparing to dispute his Italian inheritance which Manfred had usurped with the sinister tyrant at Naples, and his Ghibelline partisans, recovering from the shock of Benevento, were prepared to receive him as their leader in arms. The Pope had vetoed the election to the imperial throne of this "poisonous serpent from the dragon's seed," and his territorial possessions were confined to his own small duchy of Suabia, where Ghibelline envoys came to offer him the fair kingdom of his fathers in the south, and the promise of a glorious vengeance for the wrongs of his illustrious race. The romantic boy, now just fifteen years of age, nurtured on the songs of the minnesingers and the memory of his great ancestors, felt that irresistible impulse which had for so many centuries drawn

the German across the Alpine barrier and, accepting the traditional mission of his house, he defied the Pope, and issued a manifesto to the Romans. At the very time when the dispossessed Emperor of the east was negotiating the treaty of Viterbo, the Ghibelline vicar of the disinherited Conradin entered Pisa and proclaimed his cause in Tuscany, while Guy de Montfort was despatched in haste to Florence to defend the Guelphic city with Apulian troops. In October 1267, accompanied by his stepfather, Meinhard Count of Gorz, his uncle, Louis of Bavaria, Rudolf of Hapsburg, and Frederick of Baden, he crossed the Alps and entered Verona. The standard of revolt was raised in Sicily, the Saracens of Luceria declared for the grandson of Frederic, and fickle Rome turned Ghibelline once more. The situation was critical in the extreme, and while the Pope called upon the sons of the Church to rally to her aid, Charles summoned all the vassals of his new kingdom to join his banner. As overlord of Achaia, he was entitled to feudal service from the Moreote barons, and Villehardouin, in whom self-interest was always the dominant impulse, was nothing loth to recognise his obligation to the conqueror of his old-ally in Apulia, the gaoler of his sister-in-law, the widowed Helena of Epirus. Such service could not well be forgotten when once the throne of Sicily was safe, and in the ambition of Charles and the favour of Rome lay all the hopes of Frankish Romania. He therefore determined to make no merely formal display of zeal, but to contribute materially to the success of the holy war. An armistice of one year's duration was concluded with the Greek governor of Mistra, a loan was raised with Venetian bankers, and the flower of the Achaian chivalry, to the number of four hundred

knights, was summoned to cross with the prince into Epirus, and thence embark for Brindisi. With him went the veteran de Bruyères, Gautier de Rosières of Akova, Jean Chaudron, the constable of Achaia, and Geoffroi de Tournay of Calavryta, whose barony had been recovered by the Greeks, and who hereafter, it would appear, received fiefs in the kingdom of Naples, where members of his house, as well as of the Moreote family of Toucy, figure in subsequent history. Riding north from Brindisi by rapid marches, Villehardouin found the king at Benevento.

Meanwhile from the windows of his palace on the walls of Viterbo the Pope watched the long files of the imperial army marching unmolested across the great Etrurian plain. Conradin entered Rome in triumph. The ancient city draped with crimson, carpeted with flowers, went mad with enthusiasm to welcome the boy soldier who had put on his maiden arms to expel from his fair inheritance that gloomy tyrant in whose hands a French Pope had placed the keys of Italy. Rome was whole-heartedly Ghibelline once more. In the middle of August he left the city, marching through the Abruzzi by the old Valerian road, with the intention of relieving Luceria, to which Charles was now laying siege, and reinforcing his army with the loyal Saracens. Charles however raised the blockade and hastened to oppose his progress, in some uncertainty as to the route which he would take. At length his scouts brought news that the enemy was approaching the lake of Fucino, and making a forced march he encamped near Alba with some three thousand weary troops. Conradin, passing by Tagliacozzo, advanced some six miles further and halted within sight of the rival camp, which was only separated from his own by the little

stream of Salto. The battle which ensued has been called the battle of Alba, but the genius of Dante has stamped it for ever with the name of Tagliacozzo.

The chronicle describes at length the stratagem by which the battle was won, and attributes it to the merit of Villehardouin, who reconnoitred Conradin's camp and found the enemy nearly double in number the force of which Charles could dispose. The device employed consisted in despatching the light troops, drawn up in two or three battles, to meet the enemy, while the flower of the cavalry was held in ambush behind the camp. The advancing squadrons were to draw the enemy's attack and then to turn and fly, and when the German and Tuscan horsemen following in pursuit dispersed to loot the camp, the ambushed knights were to issue in compact formation and ride them down, while the Provençals scattered by the first attack returned to rally round them. The evidence however of Villani, Guillaume de Nangis, and others goes to prove that the tactics adopted on this occasion were not so much due to the invention of Villehardouin as to the advice of Érard de San Valeri, a veteran of the wars in Palestine, who was returning home through Italy, and Dante has embodied in a single line the tradition which assigned to him the honours of the day.[1] For a brief space success appeared to crown the maiden arms of Conradin. The charge of the Germans broke the first and second line of the French, and Henri de Cousance, the marshal, who wore the king's arms and bore the royal standard, fell. A cry went up that the butcher of Benevento was slain, and wild with the intoxication of victory, the imperial troops scattered through the tents to loot, while the impetuous Don

[1] "Ove senz' arme vinse 'l vecchio Alardo."—*Inferno*, xxviii.

Arrigo of Castile, who commanded the van, pursued the flying enemy too far. Suddenly a fresh body of eight hundred knights, and among them apparently the famous chivalry of Morea, emerged from the fold of mountain in which they had lain concealed, and riding in close formation through the disbanded Germans, turned the issue of the day, which the desperate valour of Don Arrigo, returning too late from the pursuit, was powerless to retrieve. Conradin himself, with five hundred horsemen and his faithful comrade Frederick of Baden, escaped from the fatal field, where the cause of the usurper finally triumphed. Betrayed by Giovanni Frangipani of Astura into the hands of his enemy, the last of the Hohenstaufens perished with his devoted friends on the scaffold at Naples, appealing to a higher tribunal for judgment on his executioner.[1] Tradition records that before he bent his neck to the axe he flung his gauntlet to the crowd and cried, "I bequeath my rights and my crown to him that shall take up my glove." The sacred pledge was borne to Peter of Aragon, the son-in-law of Manfred, who was destined to become the avenger of the house of Suabia.[2] No voice of intercession from Viterbo had stayed the tyrant's hand, and a month later the Pope himself

[1] Four years after the Sicilian vespers, in the year 1286, an Aragonese fleet exacted the penalty of his father's treachery from the son of Giovanni Frangipani. The castle of Astura was razed to the ground, and the last scion of this branch of the family perished in the conflict.

[2] It is asserted by the chronicler that Conradin was taken prisoner in the battle, that the Neapolitans cut off his head, fixed it on a lance and brought it to Charles, who was deeply distressed at the pitiful sight, and protested that he would have given much gold to have had him alive again, and would have paid him great honour had he survived. As a matter of fact, the king was present at the execution of his prisoners, to whom he refused the right of Christian burial. The chronicler, writing at a time when the Angevines controlled the destinies of Morea, was studious to represent the founder of the dynasty in a light which the evidence of history by no means warrants.

followed the last victim of ecclesiastical tyranny to the grave.

The chronology of the chronicle now becomes once more very defective, and its historical value for the period during which the ascendency of the house of Anjou was established over the Frankish states of Romania is very slight, though the narrative abounds in picturesque detail. The Angevine archives at Naples, however, contain a long series of documents bearing upon the relations between the kingdom and the principality, which serve to correct the errors of the chronicle and to re-establish the order of events in their proper sequence.[1]

Villehardouin remained as a guest at the court of Naples for some months after the battle of Tagliacozzo, and was no doubt a witness of the tragic end of Conradin's romantic enterprise. There was much to discuss respecting the future relations of Romania to the Sicilies, and the masterful Charles had ample occasion to study the character of his crafty vassal. During his sojourn there the scheme for the marriage of Isabella Villehardouin and Philip of Anjou,[2] his father's eldest and favourite son, was first discussed.[3] Ancelin de Toucy remained behind when, early in 1269, William returned to the Morea, but followed

[1] It is not proposed to cite individually all the references to documents in the Angevine Register, but a small number of which have as yet been published. Only those of exceptional interest will be indicated. Students of this period will find the necessary references quoted seriatim in the footnotes to the *Griechische Geschichte* of Hopf. A few of these documents, not always accurately transcribed, have been published by Buchon.

[2] Erroneously described throughout in the chronicle as Louis (Lauys).

[3] The chronicle assigns a number of negotiations, including those for the marriage of Isabella, to the brief interval between the death of Manfred and the defeat of Conradin. But it is obvious that the first expedition of Villehardouin to Apulia was that in which he led the Moreote Barons to the assistance of Charles, after the latter had become his overlord by the transfer of allegiance effected at Viterbo in 1267.

him after a short interval, escorting envoys from Charles, who brought with them the draft of a marriage contract. In accordance with the terms of this document all the barons and feudatories of Achaia were to be bound by an oath to hand over the fortresses on the death of William to the legitimate heir; Princess Anna was also to be bound by oath to renounce all intervention in the affairs of the Morea; Calamata and Clairmont were to be reserved to her as a widow's portion, and it was specifically laid down that her claims would not revive even if Isabella's marriage should prove childless, in which case the principality passed to King Charles and his heirs.

Villehardouin had also left Érard d'Aunoy[1] in Italy to act as his plenipotentiary in a joint negotiation with Venice for common action against the Greeks, which he and Charles desired to bring to a successful issue. But Venice had only in the previous year secured the Emperor's ratification to the treaty which had been drafted in 1267.[2] Considerable modifications had been made in the terms. Michael had declined to purchase peace with the republic by the expulsion of her Genoese rivals from the empire or to reserve special quarters in his cities for Venetian trading-stations. The principal stipulations of the treaty were, however, maintained, and in return for the concessions she obtained, Venice abandoned the Franks of Romania. Under these circumstances, the mission of Érard d'Aunoy and Jean de Cleri, who acted as ambassador for Charles, proved fruitless,

[1] The d'Aunoys were among the nobles who settled in the Morea after the fall of the Frankish empire. William Villehardouin gave the barony of Arkadia to Vilain d'Aunoy.

[2] Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, iii. 92–100.

although Lorenzo Tiepolo, the friend of Villehardouin and his vassal for certain island fiefs, had now succeeded Zeno in the ducal chair. The first act of the new Doge had been to sign a suspension of hostilities with Constantinople for a period of five years,[1] and to nominate a bailie to take charge of the Venetian colony and interests in the capital. The failure of this combination[2] made Achaia more and more dependent upon Naples, and envoys came and went between the two princes, who continued their preparations for a campaign against Palæologus. The crusade of St. Louis to Tunis, and the demands which he made upon the chivalry of his brother's new kingdom, contributed further to postpone its execution. In 1270 Villehardouin again visited his sovereign at Naples, and secured for his relative Jean Chaudron, constable of Achaia, who had acted as his envoy in the previous year, the command of a fleet which Charles was collecting at Bari.

Final arrangements were also made for the marriage of Philip with Princess Isabella, and Villehardouin, having received the overlordship of Vallona in Epirus as a token of goodwill from the king, returned under the escort of this fleet to the Morea. At the end of the same year the child-bride, accompanied by her father and his suite in two galleys, crossed over to Barletta, whence she was conducted to Naples, and lodged in the Castello del Ovo. Her marriage was solemnised with great pomp in the following May at Trani, at this period one of the busiest harbours of the Adriatic. The great sea-

[1] Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, iii. 101.

[2] Buchon in his *Nouvelles Recherches*, vol. i. p. 226, erroneously assumes the negotiations to have been successful, quoting the rescript which appointed the ambassadors as a proof of the conclusion of a treaty.

girdled cathedral church had some twelve years earlier witnessed the union of Manfred to the sister of her mother. The wedding festivities were on a scale of great magnificence, and the four districts of Basilicata, Terra di Bari, Capitanata, and Terra di Otranto were placed under contribution to supply numberless sheep, oxen, fowls and geese for the entertainment of guests and retainers. On the day of Pentecost Philip and his brother Charles of Salerno received the honour of knighthood from their father, and on the conclusion of the wedding ceremonies the newly-wedded pair returned to the Castello del Ovo. A few miles away, among the gorges which lead to Salerno, where the broken-hearted Helena of Epirus was still living in her prison at Nocera, a sad little princess of about Isabella's own age may have heard through her mother's gaolers of the public rejoicings which greeted the return to Naples of her cousin of Achaia. The story of this grim age is full of such contrasts. About the same time Villehardouin's second daughter Margaret of Achaia, a child of five years old, was betrothed to Isnard de Sabran, son of the Count of Ariano, a baron of the realm of Sicily. Philip of Anjou was born in 1256, and he was therefore fifteen years old at the time of his marriage. The date of Isabella's birth is uncertain, but if it took place during the early months of her father's captivity, she might have already entered on her twelfth year.[1]

[1] The marriage of Villehardouin to Anna of Epirus took place about the same time as that of Manfred to Helen, possibly a little earlier, immediately after the campaign of Carydi. Muntaner states that Isabella was fourteen years old at the time of her father's death, which would place the date of her birth about 1265, some three years after the release of Villehardouin from Constantinople. If this were correct, she would only have been six years old at the time of her marriage, and a formal betrothal would have been more in accordance with custom. Gregovius indeed, in his *Athen im Mittelalter*,

The almost continual warfare to which the state of Achaia had now been exposed since the release of the Prince from Constantinople, the ever-recurring raids and the devastation of fertile areas had reduced the country to a condition of gloomy contrast with that epoch of prosperity, which the prudent government of his two predecessors had ensured. It is evident from numerous Angevine rescripts, preserved in the archives at Naples, which authorise the export of cereals to the Morea, that the resources of the principality were well-nigh exhausted. Moreover, large drafts had been made on the local populations since the re-establishment of the Greeks in a portion at any rate of the peninsula. The Byzantine historians record that at this time not only were recruits obtained for the imperial fleet from the people known as Gasmulians,[1] that is to say the children of Greek women by Frankish fathers, but also that large numbers of the Tzaconians, a name probably somewhat vaguely used to indicate the population of Laconia and Maina, were transported with their women and children to Constantinople, to be trained for service as a corps of marines. It was high time for energetic measures, if the remnant of the Frankish dominion in Romania, more than ever in jeopardy since the

describes the ceremony of 1271 as such. But the words "pro festo nuptiarum Philippi," referring to the festival at Trani, in *Reg. Ang.*, No. 10 (1271 B), seem conclusive on this point. Again, if Muntaner be accurate, the proposal of Palæologus to marry his son Andronicus to Villehardouin's daughter, which, according to Sanudo, preceded the arrival of Charles of Anjou, must have been made directly after her birth. The third marriage of Isabella to Philip of Savoy took place in 1300 or 1301, and a daughter was born soon after. This does not vitiate the theory that she may herself have been born about the year 1260.

[1] Gasmuli. The forms γασμούλος and βασμούλος are both to be found in Byzantine historians. Μούλος implies a half-caste, cp. *mulato*. The first part of the word, which should probably be βας, would seem to give an intensitive signification. Cp. *bastard—fils de bas*.

defection of Venice, was to be maintained. In 1271 Ancelin de Toucy brought over reinforcements from Naples, and received the title of captain-general in Achaia, but the veteran soldier was no longer equal to the rough campaigning in the mountains, and was soon compelled to relinquish his command. He was succeeded as captain-general in the following year by Dreux de Beaumont, who continued operations against the Greeks through the few months during which he retained office, and it is probable that the raid into Tzaconia, ascribed by the chronicle to Galeran D'Ivry,[1] who only became captain-general after the death of Villehardouin, belongs to the period of Dreux de Beaumont's command, if indeed it has any historical basis. The chronology is in any case at fault, for this campaign is described as having taken place immediately after the marriage of Isabella and before the battle of Tagliacozzo. An expedition was also undertaken at this period by the prince and the Neapolitan forces in support of the triarchs in Eubœa against the Greeks, who had been called in by the renegade Licário. In the course of this campaign Villehardouin took the castle of Cuppa.[2] Dreux de Beaumont was succeeded by Guillaume de Barre, who remained in command of the Angevine troops in Achaia till 1274, when he was recalled and Villehardouin himself became captain-general for his liege lord, who poured money, corn and arms into the Morea, and furnished sailors from Naples for the galleys. Meanwhile circumstances arose which made for a suspension of hostilities. The ex-Emperor Baldwin died in 1273, not long after the marriage of his son Philip to Beatrix of Anjou, and Michael Palæologus, seriously

[1] *F. C.*, p. 224. [2] Sanudo, *Ist. di Rom.*, p. 128.

alarmed at the growing power of King Charles, sent envoys to the Council of Lyons, and eventually made his submission to the Roman Curia.

If, however, the triumphs of Gregory X. at the great council threatened to frustrate the ambition of Charles of Anjou, the menace was only of a temporary character, for the illustrious pontiff died almost immediately after his return to Italy, and the master of intrigue at Naples succeeded in procuring the election of a more complaisant candidate to the papal chair. At the same time, although Palæologus had obtained recognition in the west by his apostasy from orthodox independence, it had only been at the price of alienating the sympathies of his Greek subjects. Epirus and Thessaly became the focus of a movement against the union with Rome, and the dissentient clergy rallied round the Sebastocrator Johannes Dukas, whose dominions now comprised a large area of country extending from Olympus to Parnassus. He had long cultivated the closest relations with the Franks of Eubœa and Attica, and had contracted commercial agreements with Charles of Anjou. It became the chief preoccupation of the Emperor to curb the growing power of the bastard, who had inherited all the restless ambition of the illegitimate branch of the Angeli, while the designs he had long entertained for the reconquest of Eubœa, where his treaty with Venice had given him a freer hand, absorbed the military energies of the imperial forces. The Morea consequently enjoyed a brief respite.

In Epirus the aged Michael II., after maintaining peaceful relations with Palæologus for some five years, had died in 1271, and his son and successor Nicephorus, the legitimate half-brother of the bastard

Johannes, was a prince of weak character who desired to remain on good terms with Constantinople, and had, after the death of his first wife, allied himself in marriage with the Emperor's niece.

The story of Epirus and the efforts of Charles of Anjou to extend among the Albanian clansmen the footing he had gained there through the reversion of the marriage portion of Manfred's widow, do not strictly concern the history of Achaia. But a glance at contemporary events in Thessaly, Attica, and Eubœa will be indispensable in view of the close relations existing between the states of central Greece and the peninsula, and they will be briefly described in a subsequent chapter. It was the defeat of the imperial troops in Neo-Patras, and the hard fighting which ensued in Eubœa, that chiefly contributed to the maintenance of peace in the Morea until the death of Villehardouin.

Military operations were, however, still undertaken there against the Slavs of the mountain regions, who were no doubt encouraged to prolong their resistance by the support of Greek garrisons established in such advanced posts as Calavryta, and it was to suppress the raiders of the Arcadian highlands that Geoffrey of Carytena, with the aid of reinforcements from Naples, started on his last campaign in 1275. The cold of the mountain regions during the winter season made havoc of his small force, and the veteran soldier himself contracted a malady which eventually proved fatal. The Greek chronicle embodies in its text a lament for the dead hero which has a striking resemblance to the myrologies or death-chants, which, improvised on traditional themes, may still be heard in the villages of living Greece. "All wept for him, small folk and

great folk alike. The very birds sang songs of lamentation. Deep sorrow fell on all the land of Morea. Who was there that spake not rueful words, nor realised the measure of his grief? The orphan had in him a father, the widow a husband, all the poor a champion and a lord, who protected them from injustice. He gave comfort to those in affliction and raised the poor out of misery. Alas, the pity of it that death should take so good a man, so great a warrior, and orphan all the hearts that loved him."

Geoffroi de Bruyères left no children. Half of his barony was made a portion for his widow, and the other half reverted to the domain of the Prince. A claim to Carytena was put forward by his next-of-kin, a nephew it would appear, of the name of Pestel, who appealed to Charles of Anjou against the action of Villehardouin, but in vain. The Prince was firm in maintaining the principle which he had laid down when he restored the forfeit barony to Geoffrey, that it had been vested by a new deed of gift in himself and the heirs of his body only, and was no longer his own to devise as he chose by right of original conquest. Two years later Isabella de la Roche took another husband in Hugues de Brienne, Count of Lecce, grandson of that Gautier de Brienne who took the cross at the tournament of Écri, and died in Southern Italy. This marriage had the full approval of the Prince, who was present at the ceremony in Andravida, and who gladly welcomed the establishment of one of the most powerful Apulian vassals of King Charles in half the barony of Escorta. Isabella died, perhaps in childbirth, not very long after, leaving a son who was destined to be the last Duke of Athens with the blood of the de la Roches in his veins.

About the same time another question of succession came up for settlement. The history of the disinheritance of Marguerite de Neuilly, which is given with much wealth of detail in the chronicle, is curious and valuable as an illustration of the feudal ethics of the time. Jean II. de Neuilly, baron of Passava and hereditary marshal of Achaia, had married the sister of Gautier II. de Rosières, baron of Akova, by whom he had one only daughter, who became in course of time the heiress of Akova as well as of Passava. Her first husband, Guibert de Cors, lost his life at the battle of Carydi. She then married Guglielmo II. dalle Carceri, one of the triarchs of Eubœa, who acquired with his wife the title of marshal of Achaia.[1] Upon the release of Villehardouin from imprisonment at Constantinople, hostages were taken for his good behaviour, and the baroness of Passava was required to make this sacrifice for her overlord. Marguerite remained at Constantinople for many years, and there is no record of how she eventually obtained her release. Possibly it was granted after the Emperor Michael made his submission to Rome at the Council of Lyons, or she may have appealed successfully to the sympathies of her gaoler after the death of her second husband at the battle of Demetriada in 1275. In any case she returned to the Morea about that time and claimed the investiture of Akova, which the Prince had taken over more than two years before, upon the death of her uncle, Gautier de Rosières,[2] to hold for the lawful heiress detained as

[1] Sanudo, the best authority for the history of Eubœa at this period, speaks of him as "Marshal of the Morea." Jean de Neuilly died early, certainly before 1263, as, had Marguerite not taken possession of the barony before her captivity, the question would have arisen over Passava which did arise over Akova.

[2] The date of his death is not recorded, but if he was present, as the chronicle states, at the battle of Tagliacozzo, it must have been after 1269 and before 1273.

a hostage abroad. To her consternation Villehardouin declared her rights forfeited on the pretext that she had not appeared to prove her claim within the term prescribed by the custom of the country. The Assises of Romania, referring to this very case, laid down that when a fief fell vacant, the next in title should lose his rights if, being within the principality, he failed to demand investiture before a year and a day had expired, even if valid grounds could be adduced for his failure to do so. Should he have been outside the territories of the principality the term was extended to two years and two days.

It was in vain that Marguerite de Neuilly urged her plea that she had only been prevented from making good her claims by detention as hostage for the Prince in Constantinople. She could obtain nothing from her ungenerous lord, but an offer to submit the question to the decision of the high court. Her friends and advisers therefore, seeing that a feeble woman would never be able to assert her rights against the will of so mighty a prince, counselled her to marry a man who would be powerful enough to defend her interests. Overtures were accordingly made to John, the youngest of the three sons of Bela de St. Omer, and first cousin to the Duke of Athens. Of these three brothers the eldest, Nicholas, one of the wealthiest nobles in Greece, by his marriage to the Princess of Antioch, was now lord of the half-barony of Thebes, in which the second son Otho afterwards succeeded him. It was said of the three brothers in those days that when their minds were set to do a thing, there was not found any one likely to say them nay. A marriage was arranged, and Jean de St. Omer assumed the title of marshal of Achaia by right of his wife. With her and his two

brothers he set out for the court of Villehardouin, and appeared with an imposing retinue before the Prince, who was holding his parliament in the minster church of St. Sophia at Andravida. Messire Nicholas de St. Omer took upon himself the part of advocate for his sister-in-law, and addressed the Prince, setting forth the equity of her demand for investiture, on the ground that it was to gain the liberty of her liege lord that she became a prisoner, and was thus prevented from claiming her own before the term expired. Now therefore, he said, preferring loyal service as was due, she came with her husband to ask the Prince to reinvest her with the barony of Akova. Villehardouin replied that he was well aware that it was through being a hostage for himself that madame Marguerite had been unable to claim her lands within the law's delay,[1] and had lost her inheritance. Therefore he would fain know whether they desired grace of him or law. Nicholas de St. Omer replied that they sought not grace but right. "Then," said the Prince, "since you claim it, you shall have the law of my high court, and I will lay it on their souls to judge uprightly according to the usages of the empire of Constantinople."

So the high court of the Morea was assembled in the Church of St. Francis, and Messire Nicholas there upheld the cause of his sister-in-law, while the Prince, placing the sceptre in the hands of his chancellor, Leonardo da Veruli, constituted himself advocate for the defence of the usages of Romania. The case was put by St. Omer in the following terms: "Seeing that

[1] The term assigned in the text of the chronicle is a year, but the Assises of Romania allowed two years and two days when the claimant was abroad. —*Liber consuetudinum Romaniæ*, Tit. 36.

the lady was in prison, and seeing that my lord the Prince had put her there in his own place, she could not of right be disinherited, since the default lay with my lord the Prince and not with the lady." Villehardouin then called for the book of usages to lay before the court and made clear his point of law, namely, that the lady was bound by her feudal obligation to go to prison for her liege lord, and that it was while accomplishing this her bounden duty that the heritage escheated, and thus because of her essential obligation, and not from any voluntary sacrifice on her part, arose the disability to present herself before her lord within the term prescribed. The court after long deliberation found that according to the tenor of the book the lady had no claim to the inheritance, and that it rested with the Prince in his liberality to show grace to the lady, because she had lost it through being in prison on his behalf. The Prince then thanked the court for its decision, and turning to Nicholas de St. Omer he addressed him in the following terms: "Relying too greatly on your wit, you have done an ill turn to madame Marguerite, for I well knew, and better than you did, the matter of the book, how she could plead no right, and therefore I inquired if you would have law or grace: now had you craved me grace, by my soul, I was minded to have shown it to your sister, since I know that by mine occasion she was disinherited. Let this be my excuse before God and these gentlemen here present."

Nevertheless, after humbling the pride of the haughty baron, who believed his own influence all-powerful, Villehardouin relented in some measure, realising no doubt how little so inequitable a decision would be appreciated by his feudatories. He instructed

the chancellor to draw up a charter of investiture of one-third of the barony in favour of Madame Marguerite, and when it was ready, concealed it under the coverlet of his couch, that he might surprise her by his magnanimity. He then recalled the lady, who had abandoned all hope, and when she came into his presence, drew out the document and invested her with his glove in due feudal fashion with eight of the twenty-four fiefs of Akova, the eight best fiefs, five of domain and three of signoralty, which last entitled her to the homage of such great nobles as Jacques de la Roche of Veligosti and Guy de Charpigny of Vostitza, for these particular fiefs. The rest of the original barony of Akova, together with the castle of Matagriffon, he retained to constitute a portion for his younger daughter Margaret.

By a strange fatality the families of the conquistadors had for the most part failed in the male line after the first generation. The baronial houses of Patras, Nikli, and Gritzena had already ceased to exist. If there were still Nivelets and Tournays in the peninsula, their original seats of Gheraki and Calavryta had now long since been recovered by the Greeks. Veligosti had passed to the de la Roches, who were also, like the Stromoncourts of Salona, to die out early in the fourteenth century. The heirs of the first titular barons of Akova, Carytena, and Passava left no sons to succeed them. Villehardouin himself, though three times married, saw the principality which his father had won, and which he had struggled to maintain and extend, destined to pass with the hand of his daughter to a prince of the house of Anjou. And now, even such guarantees as the succession of Philip might have seemed to afford to the future of the

Frankish supremacy were rendered illusory, for in 1276 the young Prince received a serious injury from the snapping of the string of a crossbow which he was winding, and after many months of failing health, he died early in the following year at Bari, whither he had gone to invoke the aid of St. Nicholas, leaving the heiress of Achaia a very young widow in Apulia. This heavy blow and the cloud of uncertainty which overhung the future darkened the latter days of William Villehardouin and probably accelerated his end. He lay a long while ill, and, realising that his disease was mortal, made his will, leaving Jean Chaudron,[1] the grand constable, in charge of the principality until the commands of King Charles should be made known. He commended to his honoured overlord his wife, his two daughters, and his followers, praying that all his gifts and bequests to the Church and to his friends should be confirmed after his death. He died on the 1st of May 1278,[2] and was buried in the Church of St. James at Andravida, on the left side of his illustrious father.

He reigned with vigour and energy for thirty-three years, strenuous in action and a ruler of men, who found ready service among his adherents. His character, however, even judged by the unexacting standards of the age, was in no sense heroic. Scheming, avaricious, and grasping, in no single instance does he appear to have sacrificed self-interest to generous sentiment, and even in the history of which he is the central figure, the picture afforded us has little to attract our sympathy. He was himself no

[1] The Aragonese chronicle calls him Jufre de Jadron, and adds that he died very soon after Villehardouin and was succeeded by his son Jehan.

[2] 1277 in the chronicle, but the real date is established by the state papers at Naples.

soldier, although circumstances continually forced him into the field, and his conduct before the battle of Pelagonia was justly denounced by his martial nephew. He succeeded to a prosperous realm, which under the equitable rule of his father and brother had peacefully developed its material resources, until its reputation stood high among contemporary states. Early successes stimulated his natural ambition, and drew him into a struggle which unsupported he was not strong enough to maintain, and thus, after his humiliation in the prisons of Palæologus, he became, instead of the protagonist in Romania, a mere pawn in the far-reaching schemes of Charles of Anjou, which the Sicilian vespers finally shattered. Meanwhile the prosperity of the Morea, harassed by continual raids and wasted by years of desultory warfare and internal rebellion, rapidly declined, and he ended dependent on foreign blood and treasure for the preservation of his diminished borders. Nevertheless he remains a striking and dominant personality, moving impressively through a cycle of vicissitude and adventure in the chronicle composed in the following century. Himself the last survivor among the direct descendants of the knights of the conquest, he closes with his death the romantic period of the story of Achaia.

CHAPTER VII

CHARLES OF ANJOU, PRINCE OF ACHAIA—THE DUCHY OF ATHENS, 1263–1287—EUBŒA AND THE ISLANDS

On the death of William Villehardouin, Charles of Anjou, as the reversionary of his son Philip under the terms of Isabella's marriage contract, assumed the title of Prince of Achaia. It was retained by his successor also until the year 1290, when Charles II. ceded the principality to Florence of Hainault and Isabella on their marriage, and gave orders that it should no longer be included in the enumeration of his own titles. For the ensuing period the Angevine archives at Naples are the real source of our historical knowledge, and they serve to correct the errors of the chronicle, which is once more most misleading in its account of the events immediately following the death of the Prince. Villehardouin is even there represented as having predeceased his son-in-law Philip. It is, moreover, circumstantially stated that Charles lost no time in despatching to the Morea a bailie to take charge of his daughter-in-law's inheritance, and that the latter, Hugues de Sully, known as le Roux or le Rousseau, took an oath on landing before the Archbishop of Patras that he would respect the rights and usages of the principality, and then received the homage of the barons on behalf of Isabella. All of which is demonstrably fiction. Hugues de Sully went

in 1278 not to the Morea, but to Epirus, as captain-general of the Neapolitan army, to prepare the way for a contemplated invasion of the Greek empire, and there, after a distinguished career of success, fell at last into the hands of the Byzantines and was sent as a prisoner to Constantinople.[1] It was in reality Galeran d'Ivry,[2] appointed to govern in the name of Charles of Anjou and not in that of Isabella, who took over the administration of the principality from Chaudron the grand constable, and filled the post for two years, as indeed did most of his immediate successors.[3]

Galeran's administration was beset with many difficulties. The Greeks, encouraged by the knowledge that the kingdom of the Sicilies was absorbed in preparations for the eastern campaign and actually involved in hostilities in Epirus, continued their tactics of encroachment, and a fresh outbreak among the unruly inhabitants of Escorta led to a serious defeat of the Franks, and the capture by the enemy of Érard

[1] The Aragonese chronicle is equally in error in stating that the first bailie of Achaia was William, Duke of Athens. He did not even succeed to the duchy until 1280.

[2] Galeran was already familiar with the country, if the chronicle is correct in stating that he was sent there by Charles during the lifetime of Villehardouin as his captain-general. The author of the chronicle, knowing that he had at some period acted as vicar, makes the assumption that Villehardouin, as a compliment to King Charles, conferred on him the title of bailie, an office which would have had no meaning while the Prince was alive and present in the realm. The Aragonese chronicle states that Chaudron died soon after the Prince and was succeeded as constable by a son of the same name (§ 421).

[3] The feudal barons called upon to pay the act of homage to Galeran were Jean de la Roche, Duke of Athens, and his brother William of Livadia; Count Richard of Cephalonia; Giberto and Marino (II.) dalle Carcere as triarchs in Eubœa, with Leone as vicar for his cousin Gaetano, a hexarch, and perhaps also for Grapozzo, lord of the other half-triarchy, though Gaetano only is mentioned as being absent in the letters given to Galeran, which are preserved in the Angevine registers; Isabella Pallavicini, Margravine of Bodonitza; Jean Chaudron the constable; Jean de St. Omer, the hereditary marshal; Guy de la Tremouille of Chalandritza; Geoffroi de Tournay of Calavryta; Guy de Charpigny of Vostitza; Jacques de la Roche of Veligosti.

d'Aunoy, who had now succeeded to the barony of Arkadia, which Prince William had conferred upon his father Vilain, one of the great nobles who came to the Morea upon the expulsion of Baldwin from Constantinople. The execution of the testamentary dispositions of Villehardouin, who had made large bequests to the Church, led him into disputes with the clergy, and grave discontent was produced throughout the principality by the exactions of his Neapolitan troopers. Complaints were lodged at Naples that Galeran had violated the established customs of Morea, and in 1280 he was replaced by the marshal of the Sicilies, Filippo di Lagonessa, who was accorded a salary of 500 ounces of gold, and provided with a personal establishment consisting of four knights, ten esquires, and a notary. A few months later he was joined by one of the royal chamberlains, Gautier de Collepierre, who bore the title of protovestiarius, and was entrusted with the examination of accounts and superintendence of the mint at Clarenza, where the standard coinage was now struck with the initials of Charles of Anjou.

The two strong castles of Clairmont and Calamata had been bequeathed by Villehardouin to his widow Anna Comnena of Epirus, who three years later became the wife of Nicholas de St. Omer, lord of half the barony of Thebes. It was of capital importance to the sovereign power to control these two fortresses. Charles accordingly despatched two Italian lawyers to Achaia to negotiate an exchange of the castles and their dependencies for other fiefs of equivalent value in Naples and the Morea. The cession appears to have been effected without any great difficulty, and Anna received, among other estates, a portion of the lands formerly held by the wealthy chancellor of the

principality, Leonardo da Veruli, which had fallen in at his death. The investigations of Lagonessa and Collepierre revealed a very unsatisfactory condition of affairs. The pay of the garrisons was everywhere in arrear, and the fortresses themselves were ill supplied and deficient in engines of war. The state, which had prospered and developed all its natural resources under the administration of the first Villehardouins, was exhausted by the continual warfare with the Greek governors, and security had grown so precarious that in many large areas cultivation had ceased. The necessity of importing grain from southern Italy for the consumption of the Morea has already been referred to, and the permission which was now accorded to Chaudron to transport both corn and horses from Apulia, appears from the Angevine registers to have been from this time forward repeatedly sought and obtained for Achaia. Chaudron visited Naples in 1280 and again in the following year. He had complaints to prefer as to the action of the former bailie, who had sequestrated the fiefs of Érard d'Aunoy, after the latter became a prisoner, and he was successful in obtaining their restoration to a procurator. The new bailie, Lagonessa, entertained friendly relations with Guillaume de la Roche, who in 1280 succeeded his brother, and he arranged a marriage between his own nephew Carlo, seneschal of Sicily, and the Duke's sister Catherine. He prosecuted the war against the Greeks with energy, only consenting to a temporary intermission of hostilities in 1281, when the strategus at Mistra proposed an exchange of prisoners, to which King Charles assented. After a successful administration of two years, he was replaced by Guy de la Tremouille of Chalandritza, who as a Moreote baron, and in view of

the great confidence which his sovereign reposed in him, was appointed to the office for life.

And now quite suddenly, without any apparent warning, a crisis involving tremendous issues broke upon the threshold of the east, with a shock which uprooted the foundations which the French Popes had so laboriously prepared for the extension of their spiritual edifice, and dissipated for ever the ambitious dream of Charles. The King of the two Sicilies, in league with the titular Frankish Emperor and the republic of Venice, had long been maturing his plans for the reconquest of Constantinople, and only the submission of Palæologus to the Roman Curia and a fraternal regard for the good opinion of St. Louis had hitherto restrained the sword of Anjou. The temporary breach which had been created between the Church and her zealous champion was widened by the elevation of an Italian to the papal throne in the person of Giovanni Gaetano Orsini, who as Nicholas III. laboured, not without success, to undermine the growing influence of his masterful vassal. But after a brief pontificate of only three years he was succeeded by another French prelate, proclaimed as Martin IV. in February 1281, who placed himself unreservedly in the hands of Charles, and restored to him the senatorial power in Rome in tenure for life. All therefore seemed propitious for the resumption of the great enterprise. A treaty between the interested parties was signed at Orvieto on the 3rd of July, and ratified by the Doge a month later. The bann of excommunication was pronounced against Michael Palæologus, who had not carried out the stipulations laid down at the Council of Lyons. The Sicilian fleet of three hundred fighting ships and transports, with

forty Venetian galleys, was ordered to concentrate in the Apulian ports. Philippe de Courtenay, the titular Emperor, was to lead the expedition in person, accompanied by Charles of Salerno, the heir to the throne of Naples, and a second Dandolo who now wore the ducal cap in Venice.

Meanwhile the countermine prepared by Palæologus and his unnatural ally, the Orsini Pope, had had full time to mature. The oppressions of an alien government in Naples and Sicily had excited the deep resentment of the native population. In the former the dominant personality of the King himself and the constant vigilance of his agents overawed their sullen ill-will, but in Sicily a natural genius for secret conspiracy had been adroitly manipulated by the inspiring counsels of John of Procida,[1] a stranded adherent of the house of Hohenstaufen, who ably prepared the way for rebellion. Through his agency the fiefs of the Church were, on behalf of Nicholas III., offered to and accepted by Peter, King of Aragon and Catalonia, the husband of Manfred's daughter Costanza, to whom tradition alleges he had also carried the gauntlet conveying the inheritance of Conradin. Subsidies were provided by the Greek Emperor for the equipment of a fleet, and two years were consumed in undemonstrative preparations. An incident trivial in itself served as the spark which produced the explosion. During a procession at Palermo on Easter Eve, the 31st of March 1282, an insult offered by a French man-at-arms to the daughter of a noble house became the pretext for an outbreak of sudden fury, which was not appeased until every Frenchman in the island, to the number of eight thou-

[1] See the anonymous chronicle of the conspiracy of John of Procida, published by Buchon in the *Panthéon Littéraire*.

sand, had been massacred. Peter of Aragon, who was already lying off the African coast, crossed to Trapani and was hailed by the Sicilians as their liberator and prince.

The great fleet now assembled in the Apulian ports and destined for the conquest of the east was now ordered to invest Messina and exact an exemplary vengeance. But navigation, always difficult in the dangerous channel, was rendered impossible by storms which drove them back to the Calabrian coast, where the mighty armament was dispersed by Roger de Luria, the famous Catalan admiral.[1] A proposal now put forward with the approval of Pope Martin for the settlement of their rival claims by single combat between Charles of Anjou and Peter of Aragon, each supported by forty chosen knights as seconds,[2] would have afforded the world a memorable example of

[1] I have adopted the form in which his name is familiar from the Spanish chronicles which record his achievements. Villani and Boccaccio in the *Decameron* call him Ruggieri dell' Oria, as though he were a native of Oria, near Taranto. Bernat d'Esclot in his *Cronica del Rey En Pere*, published by Buchon in the *Panthéon Littéraire*, refers to Roger de Lhuria as "hun cavaller de casa de la reyna." According to Ramon Muntaner, to whom he is En Roger de Luria, his mother, donna Bella, was a lady attached to the person of Queen Costanza, and he was brought up at the Aragonese court. It is not improbable therefore that he was of Italian origin, and that dell' Oria is the proper rendering of his name.

[2] The number of knights who were to second the principal combatants has been variously stated as forty and as a hundred. Sanudo (*Ist. di Rom.*, pp. 151–2) gives forty. The conditions of the contemplated duel are more fully described in Bernat d'Esclot's chronicle of Peter III. (*Panthéon Littéraire*). He wrote that King Charles proposed the number of one hundred. But it seems that it was finally arranged there should be forty "quaranta cavallers millors de cascuna part," with twelve more, six from either side, to act as marshals and determine the conditions of combat. He records the names of the forty selected by Peter of Aragon. Among them is that of Roger de Luria. In a letter published by Rymer, addressed to Charles by Edward I. of England, who was asked to act as umpire, but declined the invitation, the latter says: "Vous et le Roi d'Aragon avez emprise bataille, chascun avec ceut chevalers." See also G. Villani, Bk. VII. chs. lxxxv. and lxxxvi., who considers the proposal to have been a ruse on the part of Peter to lure Charles of Anjou away from Italy.

chivalrous warfare, had it not miscarried owing to circumstances for which it is difficult now to assign the responsibility. The preliminaries were all arranged and Bordeaux, as British and therefore neutral territory, was chosen as the place of meeting. But Peter, who travelled thither incognito, did not await his antagonist, and having made a formal appearance before the local authorities, returned to Sicily with no less haste than he had displayed in going, and was in consequence excommunicated by the Pope. Charles in the meantime, after making a careful selection from the chivalry of his realm, set out on a fruitless journey across the Alps. Among the chosen band which accompanied him were five knights from the Morea; Jean Chaudron, son of the old constable; Jacques de la Roche of Veligosti, and Geoffroi de Tournay of Calavryta, with his two sons Jean and Othon.

The great expedition to the east had now become problematical. In November 1282 Charles despatched Chaudron with other nobles of his court to urge upon Dandolo the necessity for equipping forty galleys. But in the following month Michael Palæologus died, having lived just long enough to see his throne secured by the embarrassments of his rival. The Doge found plausible reasons for pleading the inability of the republic to carry out her engagements at that particular time, and gave the Venetian admiral Morosini instructions to disarm, retaining only twenty galleys in commission for the defence of stations in Romania. Morosini then concluded an armistice with the Greeks, and in September 1283 Venice despatched an envoy to Constantinople to negotiate with the pacific and somewhat insignificant prince who had succeeded his energetic father, for the conversion of this armistice into a

seven years' peace. The death of the titular Frankish Emperor, Philippe de Courtenay, just a year after that of Michael, was of good omen for the success of these negotiations, which were however conducted with the habitual Byzantine procrastination, and it was not until after the death of Charles of Anjou that peace was finally concluded for a term of ten years between Venice and the empire. The Duke of Naxos and Bartolommeo Ghisi of Tinos, both of them Venetian subjects, were made parties to the treaty which was eventually signed in May 1285. This instrument was effectual in actually preserving peace until the year 1294, when the rivalries of the Genoese and the Venetians in their struggle for supremacy in the markets of the east drew the empire once more into a conflict in support of the former, which was prolonged over a period of seven years. Its terms provided for a number of reciprocal trading facilities and obligations, but the most important stipulation was an engagement taken by the two contracting parties not to give countenance or support to a third party hostile to either. To this general principle a curious exception was admitted in the special case of Eubœa, and it was laid down that the Venetian bailie might assist the barons of the island against the Greeks, without his action entailing a *casus belli*. A similar stipulation had been included in a suspension of hostilities negotiated in 1277 after the battle of Demetriäda.[1] A parallel for this dispensing provision will also be found in a convention concluded by Florence of Hainault with the Greek governor at Mistra, which was eventually amplified into a seven years' treaty of peace with the empire. It was there

[1] See p. 292.

laid down that while peace was to be maintained in the Morea itself, it would not constitute an act of war if the Prince of Achaia supported the enemies of the Emperor in other quarters.[1]

In 1284 a fresh disaster befell the gloomy tyrant of Naples. His eldest and favourite son had died eight years earlier, the victim of a trivial accident. Now his second son and heir, Charles of Salerno, having in his father's absence accepted battle without adequate preparation, was defeated in a naval action by Roger de Luria in the gulf of Naples itself, carried off as a captive to Sicily, and, after being saved from the vengeance of the Messenians only by the intervention of Queen Costanza, interned in the castle of Matagriffon, whence he was transferred eventually to Spain, to remain for several years the prisoner of Alfonso of Aragon. Charles of Anjou himself never recovered from the blow dealt him by the loss of Sicily. His ambitious dream of empire had ended in the contraction of his own dominions. Crushed by disappointment he died at Foggia in January 1285, only a few weeks before his creature Martin IV., leaving a distracted kingdom to the regency of Count Robert of Artois who, during the captivity of Charles II., governed in the name of his eldest son, Charles Martel, a boy of fourteen years.

At the end of the same year King Peter followed them to the grave, leaving Sicily to his second son Jacme, or James, while the eldest, Alfonso, who had married the daughter of Edward I. of England, succeeded to the Spanish dominions. The intercession and guarantee of the English monarch resulted in the treaty of Campo Franco, under which Charles II. was

[1] See vol. ii. p. 5.

in 1288 provisionally restored to liberty, on handing over three of his sons as hostages, pledging himself, however, to return to captivity within a year if its conditions were not carried into effect. Pope Nicholas IV., whose predecessor had gone so far as to confer Aragon on Charles of Valois, the brother of Philip IV. of France, as a fief of the Church, refused to sanction the treaty of Campo Franco and forbade the King as the vassal of the Holy See for Naples and Sicily to fulfil its stipulations. Nor was Charles II. able to obtain the renunciation he had undertaken to procure from Charles of Valois of his Aragonese investiture. Faithful therefore to his promise, he returned to Spain at the end of the year to surrender himself once more a prisoner. But no emissary from the King of Aragon was present at the frontier to receive him, and he was enabled honourably to withdraw, having fulfilled his conventional obligation.

In 1291 King Alfonso of Aragon died, and James, who had renewed and strenuously prosecuted the war with Naples, being anxious to enter into possession of his Spanish inheritance, endeavoured to make peace with the Pope. Charles was no less eager for peace and the regulation of the unfortunate situation which had arisen from the non-execution of the treaty of Campo Franco. He offered to Charles of Valois, as compensation for the abandonment of his pretensions in Aragon, the hand of his daughter with Anjou and Maine as a dowry. Hostilities between Aragon and Naples were suspended and James agreed to surrender Sicily. But the population of the island, notwithstanding the defection of John of Procida, who also made his peace with Rome, opposed any attempt to barter away their hardly won independence and, seeing

themselves menaced with the re-establishment of the intolerable rule of the Angevines, sought and found a new leader in Frederick of Aragon,[1] the youngest of King Peter's sons, whom James had left behind him as Viceroy. Boniface VIII., who had supplanted the visionary Celestine V. after his brief pontificate of six unhappy months, at the end of 1294 endeavoured to disinterest Frederick by offers of the senatorship of Rome and the hand of Catherine de Courtenay. But if, as may well have been, he wavered for a time, the adventurous young prince preferred an actual to a titular crown, and, after the definite and final renunciation of Sicily by James in June 1295, he assumed the crown at Palermo in conformity with the national desire. The two brothers were thus forced by circumstances into opposing camps, and Frederick thereby lost the services of the invincible Roger de Luria. The latter was, however, replaced before long as admiral of Sicily by another Roger, not less famous as a sea captain, whose romantic career forms one of the most curious episodes of this meteoric epoch. James of Aragon visited Rome in 1297, accompanied by his mother Costanza, the daughter of Manfred, who now, in her joy at being reconciled with the Church, buried the bitter memories of the past, and consented to the marriage of her daughter Violanta with Robert of Calabria, the son and successor of Charles II. James himself became captain-general of the armies of the Church, and was rewarded by the Pope for his services with the islands of Corsica and Sardinia.

[1] If there is any historical foundation for the romance of Gian di Procida and the fair Restituta of Ischia, told in the *Decameron* (Day V. Novella vi.), Frederick was destined later to be brought into strange relations with the nephew of John of Procida, through whom the Aragonese were first invited to Sicily.

And now the struggle between Naples and Sicily was resumed with vigour. Excommunications were once more launched against the rebellious kingdom, and Boniface provided a perhaps more effectual weapon by devoting the tithes of the Church to the prosecution of the war. His Ghibelline contemporaries did not hesitate to accuse him of instituting the pilgrimage in the year of jubilee in order to obtain funds for the same purpose. The war continued without intermission until 1302, when peace was at length brought about by a dynastic marriage between the daughter of Charles II. and Frederick, who was finally recognised by his father-in-law as the sovereign of an independent Trinacria. The vicissitudes of the two kingdoms in this long conflict were fertile in their influence on the fortunes of Greece, and it is matter for speculation how far the whole course of history in the east may not have been modified by the bloody episode of the Sicilian vespers.

The death of Michael Palæologus relieved the tension on the frontiers of the Frankish principalities. His successor, the priest-ridden Andronicus II., had little sympathy with the militant policy of his ambitious father. He was not, however, greatly concerned to lighten the burdens which pauperised his subjects and depleted the imperial exchequer, so that the ruinous expenditure which Michael had incurred in consolidating his realm, was only diverted by Andronicus to defray the extravagancies of his court, or to propitiate the Church which his father had gravely offended. He discharged the seamen recruited from the Gasmulian populations, or drawn from the races which occupied Mani and Tzaconia, and suffered the fleet to fall into such decay that the Byzantine admirals were no longer

able to keep the very harbour of the capital immune from piracy. He reduced the famous Varangian guard, and filled the ranks of his army with mercenaries of inferior quality, indifferently led and irregularly paid. Thanks to these conditions the Seljuk Turks, long divided by internal quarrels, were enabled under a succession of competent emirs to consolidate their forces on the ruins of the ancient kingdom of Iconium, and became a standing menace to the Greek dominions on the other side of the Bosphorus. The efforts which with inadequate resources the empire was now compelled to make, in order to stem their rapidly increasing power, diverted attention from the Frankish states, and the governor of Mistra received little material assistance in the weary struggle with his western neighbours. Andronicus himself contracted a marriage with an Italian princess, and the traditional claims of the Lombard marquisate to the kingdom of Thessalonica were transferred to him with the hand of Irene of Montferrat.

One of the first public acts of the regent at Naples was to supersede Guy de la Tremouille in the bailieship of Achaia, notwithstanding the life tenure which Charles of Anjou had conferred upon him. The office was transferred to Guillaume de la Roche, who had in 1280 succeeded his brother Guy as Duke of Athens. The regent perceived that in critical times the wealth and position of the Duke offered a better guarantee for the safety of the principality and for united action on the part of the Frankish states, than the stewardship of one of the minor barons. It is possible, moreover, that la Tremouille was in failing health, as he died not long afterwards, leaving a daughter as sole heiress of Chalandritza. She married Giorgio Ghisi,

son of Bartolommeo, lord of Tinos and Myconos, who after her death became, by a second marriage with Alix dalle Carcere, a triarch of Eubœa. Thus yet one more of the old Moreote baronies passed, in default of male heirs, into another family. It was eventually divided between Ghisi's two daughters and held in 1324 by their respective husbands, Pietro dalle Carcere and Martino Zaccaria, the first member to acquire a footing in the Morea of that Genoese family which ruled in Phocæa, in Samos, Chios, and Thasos, and was destined to give Achaia its last Frankish prince.

The Duke of Athens administered the affairs of the principality until his death in 1287. Charles II. was at that time still a prisoner, and the regent selected Nicholas II. de St. Omer to replace him as vicar in Achaia. The choice of the eldest of the Fauquenbergue brothers was clearly indicated as appropriate by his high reputation and great influence in Romania. His first wife, the daughter of Bohémond, Prince of Antioch and Tripoli, had brought him a dowry which, added to his own revenues in the prosperous half-barony of Thebes, made him the wealthiest of the Frankish nobles. He had built himself on the Cadmeia a palace fortress which was proverbial for its magnificence, adorned with paintings representing the victories of the Franks in Syria.[1] One massive tower, with walls nine feet in thickness, still stands to mark the site of this princely residence, said to have been destroyed by the Catalans, and recalls its founder's name in the local appellation of Santameri. His second wife, Anna Comnena of Epirus, the widow of Villehardouin, brought him the Moreote fiefs of Mantichorion and

[1] *G. C.*, 6742–55.

Zonklon on the bay of Navarino, which she had received in exchange for Clairmont and Calamata.

The chronicle assigns to the period of the administration of St. Omer the attempt made by a young adventurer of the house of Bruyères to gain possession of the barony of Carytena,[1] half of which when it fell in to the Prince had been retained by Villehardouin as a portion for his daughter, while the other half had been conceded to the widow of Geoffrey, who had since married Hugues de Brienne. The interest of the story lies in the evidence which it affords of the superiority of the defence over the attack in fortified positions, and of the difficulties which confronted a besieging force, investing a castle quite inadequately garrisoned, where the mountainous nature of the country made it impossible to bring up the cumbrous engines of war which served as siege artillery.

Soon after the assumption of office as bailie by Nicholas de St. Omer, this new Geoffrey de Bruyères appeared at the court of Naples and laid before the King, or more probably the regent,[2] evidence duly attested by the clergy and nobles of Champagne, establishing his next-of-kinship to the old hero of Escorta. The question of his title to the barony could not be decided at Naples, and the pretender was sent to the Morea with letters instructing Nicholas de St. Omer to investigate his claims. A parliament of the barons was summoned, and after much discussion they rejected his suit on the plea that Carytena had been

[1] In the Paris MS. of the metrical chronicle this story appears at the end of the poem. In the Copenhagen MS. it occupies its proper chronological place in the text.

[2] Charles II. was only provisionally released from captivity at the end of 1288, and soon after his return to Naples he replaced Nicholas as bailie by Guy de Charpigny.

forfeited as a barony of original conquest and then granted afresh by new investiture to Villehardouin's nephew and the heirs of his body only. The pretender, after this rebuff, conceived a stratagem which, if successful, would enable him to plead that occupation as an accomplished fact entitled him to more consideration than did the legitimate claims of absentees. He withdrew to the district of Xerochori, and established himself in the neighbourhood of Araklovon, or Bucelet as the Franks had renamed it, feigning to be sick of fever. From the village where he lodged he sent one of his esquires daily to the castle to procure from the cisterns a water which he pretended was a specific for his malady. After a little while he craved and obtained permission to take up his residence for a few days in the fortress, so as to be enabled to drink the water freshly drawn. The best chamber in the tower was placed at his disposal, and as his malady appeared to assume a more aggravated form, his four esquires were allowed free access to his room. He engaged them under an oath of secrecy to aid him in recovering his inheritance, and quoted the injustice done by the Moreote barons to the house of Champlitte as a parallel to his own exclusion. They were then instructed to convey into the castle with due discretion their arms and a store of provisions from Xerochori, concealed in their baggage. When this had been successfully accomplished, two of them were to invite the men-at-arms to the tavern in the village below, and ply them with drink till they were heavy and somnolent. They were then to slip quietly away, and encountering their comrades at the castle gate were to overpower and expel the gatekeeper, secure the defences, and bring Geoffrey the key. In the dungeons

were twelve Greek prisoners. These he proposed to liberate, arm and engage for the defence under the pretext that it was his intention to hand over the castle to the Emperor. Two of them he intended to let down from the wall by night and despatch with letters to the commandant of the Greek troops, requesting him to come and take over the fortress. Information of their plans would also be conveyed to the men-at-arms who had been shut out, and they would at once carry news to the bailie. He calculated that the latter, rather than suffer the fortress to be surrendered to the Greeks, would be glad to come to terms, and would allow him to remain in possession of the barony as the King's liegeman.

All fell out as he had schemed, and by this simple device he became master of Bucelet. The victims of his strategy at once despatched messengers to the bailie at Clarenza, and to Simon de Vidoigne, the captain of Escorta. Both Nicholas de St. Omer and Simon hastened to the spot with all the men they could muster, and closely invested the castle. But the absence of roads and the rough nature of the country made it impossible to bring up the heavy siege-train of the period, and the little garrison continued successfully to defy the beleaguerers. In obedience to Geoffrey's summons, a Greek force advanced on the Alpheius, and Simon de Vidoigne was sent to protect the border of the principality from invasion. At length the bailie found it advisable to parley with this troublesome adventurer, who presumed to justify his action, but declared himself at the same time ready to do homage to the King and loyally perform all the feudal service which the tenure of the barony entailed. He was told in reply that unless he surrendered the

fortress, the investing troops would never be withdrawn until justice had been done upon him as a traitor. His little store of provisions was now running short, and he was glad at last to accept a compromise. He agreed to hand over Bucelet and to renounce all further claim to the barony on receiving seizure of the fief of Morena and the hand in marriage of the heiress of Lisarea, Marguerite de Cors, the stepdaughter of the marshal, Jean de St. Omer, and daughter by her first husband of Marguerite de Neuilly, lady of Passava. From this marriage sprang a daughter who married Vilain d'Aunoy, the second of that name in the Morea, Baron of Arkadia. The genealogy of their descendants recorded in the chronicle furnishes some of the most useful evidence available for determining the period at which the various versions of the text were compiled.[1]

The bailie retained possession of Bucelet on behalf of the state, and it was secured by Charles II. as soon as he recovered his liberty, together with Carytena, to Isabella Villehardouin. The claims of Hugues de Brienne, acquired through his marriage with Isabella de la Roche, to a portion of the barony, although recognised by the regent at Naples, appear to have been eventually disallowed by Charles II., who seems to have reunited Escorta in favour of Isabella and her heirs.[2] About this time St. Omer was relieved of his stewardship, and Guy de Charpigny of Vostitza was appointed in his place. He held office, however, for a few months only. The King, who had at length come

[1] The subject is fully treated in Appendix II.

[2] This is deduced by Hopf from *Reg. Ang.*, No. 50 (1288c), fol. 19, v. 20 and 34. Brienne was only allowed to draw the revenues until September 1, 1288. Nevertheless Helena Dukas, the widow of Guillaume de la Roche, who became his second wife in 1291, had Carytena assigned to her as a widow's portion, and there exist coins stamped with the device:—

HELENA. D. GRA. CLARICTIA S. F.

to his own but was still involved in very complicated negotiations with Aragon, France and the Holy See, had little time to bestow on the details of administration in the remoter portions of his precarious inheritance. He was therefore the more disposed to lend a favourable ear to the representations of the Moreote nobles who, discontented with the vicars appointed from Naples, and jealous of the authority of a bailie chosen from their own order, petitioned for the nomination of a prince better able by continuity in administration to guarantee the welfare of the country and its defence against the encroachment of the Greeks. Isabella Villehardouin, left a widow while still almost a child at the court of Naples, was universally felt to be the real legitimate Princess of Achaia. The obvious course by which to unite all suffrage was to find a capable and energetic husband for the heiress of so great a name, and to restore in their persons the old conditions under which the principality had prospered.

At this point of the story it will be opportune to review briefly the course of events in the neighbouring duchy of Athens and the island state of Eubœa with which the duchy stood in such intimate relationship.

Such few historical facts as may be derived from the scanty material available concerning the administration of Guy de la Roche, up to the time when he returned from France with the title of Duke of Athens to act as the bailie of Achaia, have been recorded in a previous chapter. He did not long survive the restoration of Villehardouin, and died in the year 1263, after a government of nearly forty years in the principality which his uncle, the first feudatory, had made over to him. His two sons John and William lord of the

barony of Livadia,[1] succeeded him in turn. Of his three daughters Alix became the wife of Jean d'Ibelin, lord of Beyrout, and had gone to live there in the sumptuous palace which Syrian artists had adorned for their Frankish master; Catherine had married Carlo di Lagonessa, seneschal of Sicily, while the youngest, Isabella, has already been referred to as the wife of the hero of Carytena, after whose death in 1275 she married Hugues de Brienne.

Jean de la Roche, the second Duke, succeeded in remaining a passive spectator of the hostilities in which, almost immediately after his release from Constantinople, Villehardouin became involved with the Greeks of Laconia, and did not despatch the contingent which he was summoned to provide. There are practically no historical data for the earlier years of his reign, and in the absence of any record of disturbing elements it may be assumed that the period was one of peaceful and prosperous development, an assumption which is supported by the knowledge that at the time when Guillaume de la Barre served as captain-general for King Charles in the Morea, Jean de la Roche was able to advance a considerable sum of money to him for the pay of his troops, a loan which the King duly refunded. He was a victim to a disabling form of gout, which affected more than one of the French nobles. But in spite of his physical infirmity he proved himself an energetic ruler, and, at the time when the star of Villehardouin was declining, he maintained the high reputation of the Franks for chivalry and daring in the wars of Eubœa and Thessaly, in which he became involved through his friendship

[1] The castle of Livadia still remains, a picturesque ruin with all its towers, walls, and gateways.

for the ruler of Neo-Patras. The chronicle throws little or no light on the history of Athens and Eubœa during this period of conflict with the armies of Palæologus, but adequate and trustworthy information is found in the Byzantine historians, and in the treatise of the Venetian Sanudo.

The constitution of a new state in Thessaly or Greater Vlachia, where on the death of Michael II. of Epirus the bastard Johannes Dukas had made himself an independent prince, has been already described.[1] His growing power, his intimate relations with the Franks and the encouragement which he gave to all the malcontents who protested against the Romanising tendencies displayed by Palæologus after the Council at Lyons, soon brought him into conflict with the Greek Emperor who, as will be seen hereafter, about this time secured a footing in Eubœa, and menaced the position of the Lombard rulers of that island.

In 1275 the Emperor despatched a powerful army under the command of his brother, Johannes Palæologus, and the grand strategus, Johannes Synadinus, to Great Vlachia, while at the same time a Byzantine fleet under the grand admiral Philanthropinus cooperated at sea, and threatened the Thessalian coast. Dukas counted on the support of the Franks, but, left to fight his own battles, was compelled to withdraw into his strong fortress at Neo-Patras, which occupied a commanding position under the slopes of Mount Œta, on the projecting hill which diverts the Spercheius or Elladha from its direct course into the Maliac gulf. Neo-Patras was closely invested, and the fertile plains surrounding the capital were laid waste by the invading

[1] The Latins spoke of Johannes Dukas as the *Duke* of Patra, or Lapatria, the title being derived apparently from a misinterpretation of his name.

army. Then, as no help came to him from the south, Dukas resorted to a bold expedient. Disguised as a groom or herdsman he left the leaguered fort alone at night, and pretending that he was in search of a beast which had strayed, he succeeded in passing undetected through the hostile lines, and so made his way to Thebes in safety. He persuaded the Duke of Athens to come to his assistance, and offered him the hand of his daughter Helena, who was no less renowned for her beauty than had been her father's half-sister, the ill-starred Helena of Epirus. Jean de la Roche pleaded his physical infirmities as a bar to marriage, but he proposed that his brother and heir, William of Livadia, should espouse the bride of Thessaly, to whom a goodly dower was assured, including Zeitoun, Gravia, Gardiki and Siderokastron. The Duke then took the field in person with a force of 300 knights,[1] and marched to raise the siege of Neo-Patras. Looking down from an eminence on the hostile army, which is said to have included 30,000 horsemen, for the most part Turkish mercenaries, the Duke repeated to his ally the contemptuous epigram of the ancient cynic, "A crowd of people, but few men,"[2] and while the camp was still in confusion, led the Frankish chivalry into the midst of the unsuspecting enemy. The resistance of the Turks was overborne by this handful of men, the great army fled in panic rout, and the camp became the spoil of the conquerors.

The victory of the Duke of Athens at Neo-Patras

[1] Sanudo gives the number as 300. Nicephorus Gregoras puts the Athenian contingent at 500. They were presumably accompanied by the usual proportion of men-at-arms.

[2] The reply of Diogenes when he was asked what he had seen at the Olympic games. See Diogenes Laertius, Bk. VI.

afforded the Barons of Eubœa an opportunity for which they had long been seeking. A state of warfare with the Greek Emperor had already subsisted for some years in the island, where the cause of Palæologus was upheld with energy and daring by an Italian renegade whom lust of power and thirst for revenge had induced to betray his countrymen. The wholesale practice of piracy and shameless slave-raiding carried on there by the unscrupulous Veronese nobles had made them the terror of the archipelago, and a hundred corsair craft issued from the fortified creeks of the island to ravage the havens of Asia Minor and harass even the distant shores of Cyprus, in league with adventurers from Nauplia in the pay of the de la Roches of Veligosti. They had accumulated great hordes of ill-gotten gold in the fortress towers which still crown the sea-washed cliffs, and their excesses had brought them into conflict with the empire which, though it might at times find it politic to give some countenance to privateering, still stood for ordered government, and could not be deaf to the bitter cry of those whose captured children were sold into unendurable slavery.

The younger branches of the house of dalle Carceri had received fiefs in the island, but in spite of continual subdivision the original triarchies continued to exist, and the incumbents had been confirmed in their position by Villehardouin in the settlement which took place after his return from Constantinople in 1262. Of the triarchs who then became definitely his vassals far the most influential was Guglielmo dalle Carceri, who was moreover one of the titular claimants to the kingdom of Thessalonica by his marriage with the daughter of Manuel Angelus, the stepson of Bonifazio of Montferrat. After her death he allied himself with

the family of his Prince, and married Simonne, a niece or more probably a cousin of William Villehardouin.[1] His fellow-triarchs, Narzotto and Grapella, were also his sons-in-law, respectively married to his daughters Felisa and Margherita. After the settlement of 1262; he became the staunch friend and confidant of the Prince who, according to Sanudo, had contemplated making him feudal overlord not only of the whole of Eubœa, but of the duchy of Athens as well. The project, if it was ever seriously entertained, came to nothing, as Guglielmo died in the following year leaving his barony to his eldest son Guglielmo II., who, in virtue of his marriage with the daughter and heiress of Jean de Neuilly, held the hereditary office of marshal of Achaia. Two other sons survived him. The second, Giberto, succeeded his brother as triarch. The third, Francesco, had three sons, of whom the two eldest divided the triarchy of Grapella, while the third, Bonifazio da Verona, as he was generally called, played a conspicuous part in the subsequent history of Eubœa and of Athens. Both Grapella and Narzotto appear to have died within a year or two of Guglielmo,[2] the former without direct heirs, the latter leaving a son, Marino II., who succeeded while still of tender years, and remained under the guardianship of his mother Felisa, who lived at Negripont in the palace of her brother Giberto. By some arrangement which cannot now be traced, perhaps in virtue of an arrangement entered into by the surviving *terzieri*,[3] the triarchy of Grapella did not pass to his own brothers, but was divided between his wife's nephews Grapozzo and Gaetano, the sons of Francesco. During the minority

[1] See note on p. 185. [2] About 1264.
[3] Compare the arrangement described on p. 188.

and afterwards during the absence of Gaetano, who was for some time prisoner at Constantinople, his barony of one-sixth was administered for him by Leone dalle Carceri, the younger brother of Grapella. Grapozzo married the daughter and sole heiress of his uncle Giberto. All the barons had their palaces in Negripont or Chalcis, which served as a common capital, where moreover the Venetian commercial settlement formed a sort of *imperium in imperio*, under the jurisdiction of the bailie appointed by the Doge. The large quantities of plunder put up for sale by the Eubœan corsairs gave the market of Negripont an exceptional importance, and a flourishing Jewish colony did business there.

In the suite of Giberto dalle Carceri a young soldier of the name of Licario,[1] a Vicentine of Castel Nuovo by origin, was conspicuous for gallantry among the knightly retainers of that wealthy house, and pre-eminent in all their contests of chivalry. Between this Licario and the young widow of Narzotto there grew up an attachment, which led to a clandestine marriage. When at length the secret was divulged the brothers of Felisa, indignant at their sister's misalliance, swore to be avenged on the presumptuous upstart. Licario took refuge in flight, and endeavoured to gain the favour of the Frankish barons of the mainland. He was eventually suffered to return and granted a residence in the ruined castle of Anemopylæ, in the neighbourhood of Carystos. He gathered round him a band of young adventurers and, having restored the ramparts of his mountain fortress so effectually as to render it practically impregnable, he entered into

[1] The Byzantine historians call him Ikario, treating the initial L as an elided article.

negotiations with the imperial authorities, addressing himself in the first instance to the admiral who had been despatched to check the lawless raids of the Eubœan corsairs, and later proceeding in person to Constantinople. His advances were favourably received. He admitted a Greek garrison into his castle and undertook to reduce the whole island to subjection for Palæologus who, having thus gained a foothold in the formidable pirates' nest, assisted Licario in extending his operations over a wider radius. Before long he secured possession of the castles of Larmena,[1] Cuppa, Cleisura, and Manducho. Seriously alarmed by these successes, William Villehardouin came in 1272 with Dreux de Beaumont, who commanded the Angevine troops in the Morea, to the assistance of the Eubœan barons. He retook the fortress at Cuppa, but Beaumont was badly beaten and driven back to Negripont with the loss of most of his transport.[2] Venice had at this time, as has been seen in the previous chapter, contracted agreements with the empire, by which she pledged herself to a policy of non-intervention in favour of the Franks, so long as her commercial privileges were respected. Nevertheless on the approach of the fleet which sailed south under Philanthropinus, simultaneously with the advance of an imperial army by land against Neo-Patras, a number of mercenaries were sent as a precautionary measure to Negripont which, it was assumed, would be the objective of the Byzantine admiral.

The easy victory gained by Jean de la Roche encouraged the Lombards of Eubœa to take the offensive

[1] The castle of Larmena is still conspicuous on the summit of Mount St. Nicolas, near Styra, some hours' march north of Carystos.

[2] Sanudo, *Ist. di Rom.*, p. 128.

and, hastily equipping twelve ships of war, supported by vessels from Crete and other craft, they came upon the imperial fleet of eighty galleys, lying close to the shore off Demetriada in the gulf of Halmyros, where the routed army was reassembling under cover of the ships. Filippo Sanudo, the son of a former Venetian bailie, had been put in command, and although he had no previous experience of naval war he gave a good account of himself in the first action, in which the Byzantine line was broken and a number of vessels were driven on a lee shore by the wind. Johannes Palæologus, who had in the meanwhile imposed some order on his discomfited army, succeeded in remanning the flying galleys with fresh fighting crews and re-engaged the Eubœans while they were still exhausted from their previous effort, inflicting a disastrous defeat on the over-confident islanders. The triarch Guglielmo II. was killed in the action. His brother Francesco with the hexarch Gaetano his son, Butarello dalle Carceri, Filippo Sanudo the admiral, Guillaume de Cors, and many others of less distinction, together with all the crews of the captured vessels, fell into the conqueror's hands. Giberto alone of the Lombard barons got safely back with two or three ships to Negripont and assumed the government of the island. The Duke of Athens at once despatched troops to co-operate in the defence of the city, which he organised with the assistance of the Venetian bailie. But Johannes was not in a position to follow up his advantage, and returned with his prisoners to Constantinople where he retired into private life, humiliated by the failure of his attempt to annex Thessaly, for which the subsequent minor success at Demetriada did not atone. In 1277 Venice negotiated

for a suspension of hostilities with the Emperor, and obtained the release of five hundred Venetian prisoners. The Eubœan prisoners were probably set at liberty at the same time. In this instrument a reserve was made of her right to support the Franks of Eubœa against the Greeks without such action on her part constituting a *casus belli*.[1]

Meanwhile guerilla warfare both by sea and land had continued in the island. In 1276 Licario, who had become an admiral of the Byzantine fleet with the title of Megaduke, was directed to attack the strong fortress of Carystos, the key of southern Eubœa and the citadel of an independent barony, held by Othon de Cicon and his wife Felisa, the daughter of Ravano dalle Carceri, one of the original feudatories. This Otho was one of the wealthiest of the Frankish barons, and at the time of the expulsion of Baldwin II. from Constantinople he had been able to lend the fugitive Emperor no less a sum than 5000 hyperpers, receiving in pledge a very precious relic, an arm of John the Baptist, which he entrusted to the abbot of Daphne to carry to France, and deposit in the parent house of his order at Cîteaux. He had strengthened the defences of the town and castle so as to place them beyond the danger of assault.[2] Licario therefore determined to reduce the port by blockade, and in the meantime harried the coasts and the neighbouring islands with his ships. After a long siege Carystos fell, and Michael Palæologus evinced his satisfaction by finding a wealthy Greek bride for

[1] Compare p. 272.

[2] Carystos has a fortified upper town. The height occupied by the castle, known as Castel Rosso, across the bed of the torrent, is probably the ancient citadel.

Licario, whose first wife must have died in the meantime, and by conferring upon him the whole of Eubœa, to be held as a fief of the empire, subject to the obligation of feudal service with a body of 200 knights. Step by step he established his authority over the greater part of the island, and little save their joint capital of Negripont was left to the triarchs.

At the same time his galleys pursued their career of success in the archipelago. Nature and art had combined to make the defences of Scopelos so formidable that its Venetian men-at-arms had proudly asserted that, were all Romania to fall, they could still hold out in their fortress, and were the Latin dominion doomed to disappear, they would fight their way through the enemy unsubmitting in their ships. Filippo Ghisi, who ruled as a prince over Scopelos, Scyros, Sciathos, and Amorgos, was no less confident, and had been heard to boast, "major sum quam cui possit fortuna nocere." Nevertheless Licario, selecting for his attack the midsummer months when the drought had exhausted the water supply in the cisterns, made himself master of the isles, and carried off the haughty Ghisi a humble prisoner to Constantinople. Ios and Anaphe likewise fell to his arms. Even the islands south of the Morea, Cerigo and Cerigotto, were captured, and for a while the Byzantine fleet once more controlled the Ægean. Lemnos, or Stalimeni as it was then called, gave more trouble. This island had been acquired with the title of Megaduke or admiral of the Ægean by the Venetian, Filocalo Navigagioso, who in 1210 did homage as a great feudatory to the Emperor Henry at the parliament of Ravenika. His son in-

herited one-half of the island, while the other half was divided into portions for his two daughters, who had married into the Venetian houses of Foscari and Gradenigo. His grandson Paolo now made an obstinate defence with his 700 men-at-arms, after the castles of both Foscari and Gradenigi had fallen into the hands of the Greeks, who used them as bases for their further operations. An attempt made by Palæologus to acquire his rights from him by purchase was indignantly rejected. Paolo himself died during the siege, but his wife, the daughter of Angelo Sanudo, Duke of the archipelago, continued to hold out, and the investment was maintained for three years. At length, when the greater part of the long-accumulated treasure of the Navigagiosi was exhausted, she availed herself of a favourable opportunity to escape with the remnant, and abandoned the island to the Greeks. She found a safe asylum in Negripont, where her two daughters had married, Maria, the triarch Giberto, and Agnese, the younger, his nephew Gaetano. During the same year, 1278, Licario's fleet took possession of Ceos, Seriphos, Astypalæa, Santorin, and Therasia.

The Navigagiosi never reconquered Lemnos, but after the lapse of a few years the older Venetian dynasts were for the most part re-established in their island states. The Michieli and Giustiniani recovered Ceos and Seriphos, the Quirini Astypalæa, the Barozzi Santorin and Therasia, the Ghisi Amorgos. Bartolommeo Ghisi, lord of Tinos and Myconos, had been included in the arrangement for a cessation of hostilities negotiated by Venice with the empire in 1277, and thus escaped the storm. The same is true of

the Duke of the archipelago, now Marco Sanudo II., who moreover reoccupied Anaphe, formerly the property of the Foscolo family. The Sanudi continued to rule over their island dynasty till 1383. Tinos was actually the last of the eastern possessions held by the Venetians and was retained by the republic into the eighteenth century.

Under these conditions of chronic warfare piracy, always the bane of the archipelago, had assumed an immense development. Genoese, Pisans, Lombards, Gasmuli, and Greeks cruised at will on lawless adventures, either in single ships or small squadrons. The Genoese were the worst offenders. Encouraged originally by the Frankish barons to carry out reprisals on the Greek coasts, they prosecuted on their own account what had proved a most profitable enterprise, and later hoisted the imperial flag to cover their raids on the merchant shipping of Venice. The islanders, according to Sanudo, made friends with the mammon of unrighteousness, and purchased immunity by sheltering and revictualling the corsairs. A graphic picture of the scale which privateering had assumed in these waters is afforded by a report drawn up by three lawyers, whom the Doge had directed to assess the approximate losses suffered by Venetian subjects, in which no less than ninety names of notorious filibusters are cited.[1] The principal refuge of such private craft was Anaia on the Asiatic shore, and the neighbouring island of Samos, but they were also made welcome by the Greek governor of Rhodes, and they anchored with impunity in the harbours of Morea, subject to the jurisdiction of the governor of Mistra.

[1] Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, iii. p. 159.

The range of their operations extended from Crete in the south to Epirus and the gulf of Corinth on the one side, and on the other to the Black Sea and even the distant Crimea.

Emboldened by his career of success, Licario in 1278 determined to possess himself of Negripont, to which the jurisdiction of the Lombards of Eubœa was now practically restricted, with the assistance of Spanish and Catalan mercenaries.[1] Giberto dalle Carceri was the *de facto* ruler in the capital. Marino II. died about this time, probably before this final aggression of Licario, as he is not mentioned as having taken part in the battle. The hexarchs Grapozzo and Gaetano were also absent, the latter being perhaps still a prisoner in Constantinople, and their baronies were administered, in so far as they had not ceased to have any practical existence at this time, by Leone dalle Carceri. The Duke of Athens, however, was on the spot, and marched out with Giberto to meet the renegade. In the battle which ensued, both were wounded and fell into the hands of the enemy. A number of the Frankish knights were killed, and the rest, deprived of their leaders, fled back to Negripont, pursued right up to the gates by a band of Spaniards who followed them into the town and were thus made prisoners. The bailie of Venice now organised the defence, and Jacques de la Roche of Nauplia, hearing the disastrous news, pushed overland by forced marches across Attica and Bœotia to join him, and crossed the Euripus in safety. Mean-

[1] Sanudo, *Ist. di Rom.*, p. 125. The first appearance in the history of Romania of these redoubtable soldiers of fortune who became the bane of the Frankish barons.

while another imperial army under Synadinus and Michael Cavallarius threatened Thessaly from Demetriada and Halmyros, where they had established their headquarters. But Johannes Dukas inflicted a crushing defeat upon them at Pharsalos, where Synadinus became his prisoner and Cavallarius died of injuries received by a fall from his horse while flying from the stricken field. The news of the reverse and the knowledge that Dukas had renewed his pact with the Franks was not without its effect on Licario, who abandoned the attempt to reduce Negripont which was still capable of making a stout defence. He contented himself with taking the castle of Filla, built to defend the fruitful plain of Lelanton, whose famous vineyards were in ancient days an object of unceasing strife between the rival cities of Chalcis and Eretria. After establishing garrisons in the other fortresses from which the Lombards had been expelled, he then proceeded with his prisoners to Constantinople and was appointed by Palæologus grand constable in place of Cavallarius. When the triarch Giberto, still weak from his injuries, was led into the royal presence, the sight of his bitterest enemy, "but yesterday his servant," conversing in the Emperor's ear, was more than he could bear. The old wound, not yet cicatrised, burst open once more, and the frail thread of life was broken.[1] Licario succeeded not long afterwards, on the death of Philanthropinus, to the chief command of the Byzantine navy, and therewith his name unaccountably disappears from the history of Romania. Two years later Giovanni del Cavo of Anaphe is found filling his place as the

[1] Nicephorus Gregoras, vol. i. p. 96.

imperial admiral. The Duke of Athens was well received by Palæologus, who, in view of the impending struggle with Charles of Anjou, had good reason for seeking to neutralise one of the most important of the Frankish states. He ended by forming so high an estimate of his prisoner that he offered him the hand of his daughter in marriage. The Duke excused himself on similar grounds to those which he advanced when the hand of Helena of Thessaly was proposed to him, and after agreeing to maintain peace with the empire, was released on payment of a ransom of 30,000 solidi. He did not however long survive his return to Thebes, and died universally regretted in 1280.

Guillaume de la Roche, who succeeded his brother, sent ambassadors to Naples and begged Charles of Anjou to dispense with a personal act of homage on his part, on the plea that the situation made his absence from the country undesirable. In acceding to his request Charles at the same time accorded him permission to import horses from Apulia. He maintained cordial relations with the Neapolitan bailie in Achaia, and married his sister to Carlo di Lagonessa's nephew. The marriage was no doubt one of convenience, as Catherine can no longer have been very young, but only the one son of William and Helena Dukas stood between her and the reversion of the duchy. He did not apparently consider himself to be bound by the obligations which his brother had personally contracted as a prisoner under constraint towards Michael Palæologus, and he continued to support the cause of the Franks in the war which had now become endemic in Romania, fitting out a

squadron of nine galleys which, in concert with six others equipped by Lagonessa, were placed under the command of Jean Chaudron.[1]

It was not long before a reaction set in in Eubœa, where for a time the Greeks had been all-powerful. The influence of Venice, for whose sphere of activity the island had always been claimed, had greatly increased as the power of the Veronese barons declined, and their fiefs, in accordance with the fatal law of destiny in Romania, passed into female hands or fell under tutelage. The republic had gradually with persistent purpose acquired large tracts of territory by purchase, and already in 1273 had held it opportune to raise the annual salary of the bailie from 450 to 1000 hyperpers, in view of the importance of his position. Niccolo Falier, the energetic representative who in 1280 succeeded Morosini, did much to advance the cause of his country, and with the assistance of treachery within the gates, recovered the strong castles of Cleisura and Argalia. Fresh impulse was given to the efforts of the Latins in Eubœa by the death of Michael Palæologus in December 1282, on his way to attack Johannes Dukas in person, and the succession of a weak and unmartial prince to the imperial throne. Step by step all the lost ground was regained, until only the castles of Carystos, Larmena, and Metropylae were left in the hands of the Greeks. In 1285 Venice concluded a suspension of hostilities with the empire, and it was not until 1296 that the last of the Byzantine garrisons were finally expelled from the

[1] The son of William Villehardouin's grand constable, if the Catalan chronicle is correct in stating that the latter died immediately after the Prince.

island. The history of this period in Eubœa is, however, again very obscure, and there are unfortunately lacunæ in the Angevine archives at a point where they would have proved of great service.

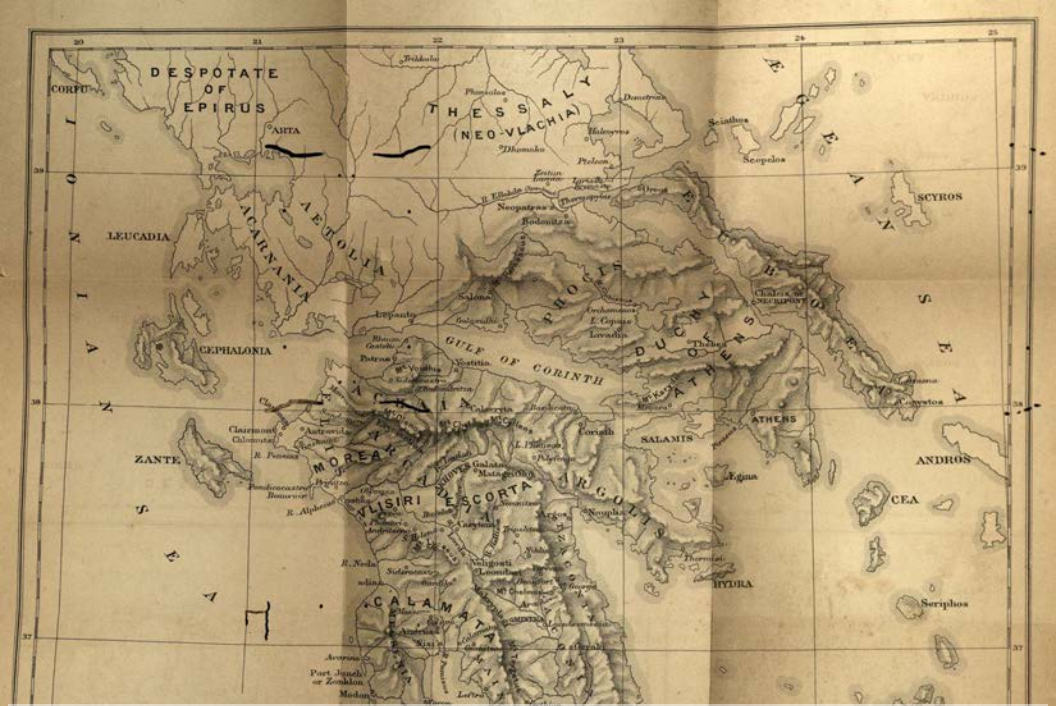
While the maritime frontier of Guillaume de la Roche was thus secured from menace by the waning of the Greek power in Eubœa, and his northern boundaries were guaranteed by the friendly neighbourship of the Despot of Thessaly, the duchy of Athens had full scope to develop its internal resources. Thebes replaced Andravida as the centre of activity in Frankish Greece, and the court became, like that of the Villehardouins in their prosperous days, a resort for the adventurous spirits of the west. Hugues de Brienne, whose wife Isabella de la Roche had died soon after her eldest brother, leaving him with an infant son, paid several visits to his younger brother-in-law, and in 1285 the Duke, who was at the time bailie of Achaia, received the instructions of the regent at Naples to assist him in entering into possession of his wife's inheritance in the half-barony of Carytena, to which other pretenders had put forward claims. He was also called upon to determine a difficult point of feudal law arising out of a disputed succession to the barony of Bodonitza. The Margravine Isabella, who followed her brother Ubertino Pallavicini there, had died without an heir. Her stepson claimed the inheritance, but his claim was contested by a collateral descendant of the first conquistador. The latter, Tomaso, was recognised as fourth Marquess. With his son and heir, the fifth Marquess, the male line of the Pallavicini of Bodonitza became extinct.

The short and brilliant administration of Guillaume de la Roche lasted seven years, and he died in 1287, leaving the duchy to his only son Guy II., generally known as Guiot, who was still a minor, under the regency of his mother Helena of Thessaly. When in 1291 she contracted a second marriage with Hugues de Brienne, the brother-in-law of her first husband, he assumed the guardianship of his stepson.

END OF VOL. I.

Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & Co.
Edinburgh & London

00036136



Digitized with financial assistance from
An Initiative by
H T Parekh
FOUNDATION
HDFC
WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH
on 28 December, 2018